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THE
HISTORY
OF
ITALY,

Translated from the ITALIAN of
FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

BY
AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD, Esq;

The THIRD EDITION.

V O L. VII.



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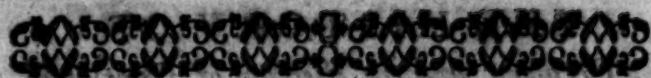


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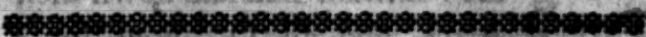
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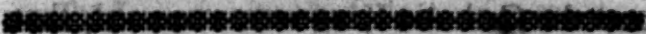


Francesco Guicciardini's
H I S T O R Y
O F

The WARS in ITALY.



B O O K XIII.



THE CONTENTS.

The Duke of Urbino with the Assistance of the Spaniards attempts to recover his Dutchy, but after various Fortune is forced to retreat to Mantoua. Cardinal Petrucci in a Plot to poison the Pope; which is discovered, and the Conspirators punished. Selim, the Ottoman, after dispatching his Father and Brothers by Poison and Sword, becomes Emperor of the Turks, and overcomes the Sophi of Persia, subdues the Sultan of Egypt, and is afterwards apprehensive of a Crusade. The Death of the Emperor Maximilian, the Intrigues of the King of France on that
VOL. VII. A 2 Occasion,

THE HISTORY OF

*Occasion, and the Election of Charles V.
The Beginning and Progress of Luther's
Heresy. Causes of War between the Em-
peror and King of France. Tumults in
Spain.*

A. D.
1517.

IT was expected, after *Cæsar* and the *Venetians* had laid down their Arms, and all Occasions for a War of the King of *France* against *Cæsar* and the Catholic King were removed, that *Italy*, which had been afflicted and broken by such a Multitude of Calamities, would have enjoyed Rest for some Years, and more especially since the *Swiss*, who are a powerful Instrument in the Hands of one who delights in Broils and Disturbances, appeared to be reconciled and to have renewed their antient Friendship with the King of *France*, without lessening on that Account their Attachments to the other Princes. And so hopeful was the Prospect of Affairs from the Convention made at *Noyon*, that, for establishing a greater Harmony between the two Kings, it was contrived they should have an Interview at *Cambray*, whither *Cheures*, the Grand Master

THE WARS IN ITALY.

3

Master of *France*, and *Robertet* were before A. D.
1517.
 repaired, in order to make Dispositions for
 the Congress; and no less Readiness to
 embrace pacific Measures appeared in *Cæ-*
sar, who had not only restored *Verona*, but
 had sent two Ambassadors to the King of
France, to confirm and swear to the Peace.
 It was then, not without just Reason,
 imagined that Peace and Agreement be-
 tween such powerful Princes must have
 crushed all the Seeds of War and Discord
 in *Italy*. And yet, either through the
 Unhappiness of our Fate, or because, *Italy*
 being divided into so many Principalities
 and States, it was next to impossible, on
 account of the various Inclinations and In-
 terests of her Rulers, that she should not
 be subjected to continual Disquietudes, lo!
 hardly had *Cæsar* and the *Venetians* laid
 down their Arms, and even before the
 Consignment of the City of *Verona*, fresh
 Tumults began to arise. The Author of
 these Disturbances was *Francesco Maria*
dalla Rovere, who had solicited the *Spanish* Peace of
 Foot that had served in *Verona*, and in the Italy di-
French and *Venetian* Army about that sturbed by
 City, to assist him in the Recovery of the the Duke
of Urbino,
 States

4. D. States from which he had that same Summer been driven by the Pontiff. He found it very easy to persuade them, since to foreign Soldiers, accustomed in Wars to the Plundering of Towns, and to the Ravaging of Countries, nothing was more distasteful than the Peace to which all the Affairs of *Italy*, they saw, had a manifest Tendency.

THE Duke then drew together about Five Thousand *Spanish* Foot, the Chief of whom was *Maldonato*, a Man of the same Nation, and exercised in many Wars: To these were joined about Eight Hundred light Horse under the Command of *Federigo da Bozzolo*, *Gajoso* a *Spaniard*, *Zucchero* a *Burgundian*, and *Andrea Bua* and *Costantino Buccola*, *Albanians*, all experienced Officers, and of no mean Reputation in Arms. But the most esteemed among them all by far, both for the Nobility of his House, and for the Rank which even from his tender Years he had held in the Military, was *Federigo da Gonzaga* Lord of *Bozzolo*, who had been one of the most efficacious Agents in persuading this Conjunction

THE WARS IN ITALY.

9.

junction of Forces, being induced not only by a Desire of increasing his Renown in the Exercise of Arms by new Wars, and by his intimate Friendship with *Francisco Maria*, but also by the Hatred which he had conceived against *Lorenzo de' Medici*. For when the Command of all the Military of the Church and of the *Florentines* was transferred to *Lorenzo* on account of the Sickness of his Uncle *Giuliano*, he had refused *Federigo* the Post of Commander in chief of the Foot, which had been granted him before by *Giuliano*. This Army then, which was much more to be esteemed for its Valour than for its Number, or Preparations for maintaining a War, for it was not furnished with Money, Artillery, nor Ammunition, not, except Horses and Arms, with any of those great Provisions with which Armies are usually attended, set out on its March for the State of *Urbino* on the same Day that the City of *Verona* was consigned to the *Venetians*.

A. D.

1517.

Duke of
Urbino at-
tempts to
recover
his State.

ON the first Intelligence of the Motion of these Troops the Pope was mightily disturbed;

A. D.
1517.
 disturbed; for he considered the Quality
 of the Army, which was formidable for
 the Hatred of the Generals, and for the
 Bravery and Reputation of the *Spanish*
 Foot. He knew the Inclination that the
 People of the Dutchy of *Urbino* bore to-
 wards *Francesco Maria*, because they had
 been a long Time under the gentle Go-
 vernment of the House of *Montefeltro*, their
 Affection to which they had transferred
 on him, who had his Education in that
 State, and was born of a Sister of Duke
Guido. Besides this, it was a sad Vexation
 to the Pontiff that he was to go to War
 against an Army which had nothing to
 lose, and was put in Motion only by a De-
 sire of Plunder and Rapine, by the Sweet-
 ness of which he was afraid that Multi-
 tudes of Soldiers, who by the Peace were
 left without Means for gaining a Subsist-
 ence, might be tempted to join them.
 But what above all tormented his Mind was
 a Jealousy that this Movement was made
 with the Participation of the King of
France; for, besides knowing that the
 War against *Francesco Maria* had displeased
 the King, he was conscious to himself
 that

THE WARS IN ITALY.

9

that he had given him many Occasions 4. D.
to be dissatisfied with him; as, for In- 1517.
stance, by not observing, when *Cæsar* de- Pope sus-
scended into *Lombardy*, the Confederacy picious of
made after the Acquisition of *Milan*; by the King
having, after his Return to *Rome*, sent of France
him a Bull concerning the Collation of and Ven-
Benefices in the Kingdom of *France*, and tians.
Dutchy of *Milan*, which, being of a dif-
ferent Tenor from what was agreed by the
Convention made in *Bologna*, that for
Want of Time had not been subscribed;
the King in Anger refused to accept; by
carrying on secret Negotiations with the
other Princes, and with the *Swiss* against
him; by having not long before, out of a
Desire to prevent directly the Recovery of
Verona, permitted the *Spanish* Foot, that
marched from *Naples* to relieve it, to pass
separately through the State of the Church;
alleging in Excuse that he was not wil-
ling to give them Occasion to pass in a
Body, because he was not able to resist
them; by his not granting him, according
to his Promise made in *Bologna*, the Tenth,
but on intricate Conditions; and by his not
restoring the Towns to the Duke of *Fer-*
rara.

A. D. *rara.*

1517

These Reasons gave him just Cause to suspect the Intentions of the King; but he fancied he saw others yet more convincing. The Dispositions for this Movement being made in the Neighbourhood of *Verona*, it was impossible but it must, many Days before it was set on Foot, have come to the Knowledge of *Lautrech*, and as he kept it secret, it might be presumed to be undertaken with the King's Consent. To this it was added, that *Federigo da Bozzolo* had been till that present in the King's Pay, nor did it appear to be true, what *Lautrech* pleaded in Excuse, that the Term of his Service was expired. The Pontiff was also jealous of the Inclinations of the *Venetians*, whose Proveditors were said to have been concerned in assembling these Troops, that Senate, on the Memory of past Transactions, being dissatisfied with him, and uneasy at his Greatness, because he had succeeded to the Pontificate when it was at such a Height of Power and Reputation, and could dispose of the *Florentine* State at Pleasure.

ALL

THE WARS IN ITALY.

11

A. D.

1517.

ALL these Apprehensions served to terrify the Pope, while he had no Hopes or Encouragement from his Friendship or Alliances with the other Princes, for, besides their having newly either made Peace or Confederacies with the King of *France*, there was not one of them but was disgusted with his Manner of Proceeding by secret Counsels and Artifices, in which, though he might have been inclined to their Party, yet by shewing a Reluctance to discover himself, and a Slowness in putting his Intentions in Execution, and performing his Promises, he had given but little Satisfaction to any of them, nay, was frequently afraid of them all; and therefore had very lately sent Frier *Nicolas*, a *German*, and Secretary to the Cardinal *de' Medici*, to the Catholic King, to dissuade him from the Interview which was in Agitation between him and the King of *France*, being apprehensive of a closer Alliance between these two Princes, which might tend to his Prejudice. In this doubtful and perplexed State of Mind neither he nor his Nephew *Lorenzo* ceased continually

A. D. continually sending Troops into *Romagna*,
1517. partly new Levies, and partly Detach-
 Motions of the Duke of Urbino and of the Ecclesiastic Army. ments from the *Florentine* standing Regiments, that so joining with *Renzo da Ceri* and *Vitello*, who were with the Men at Arms at *Ravenna*, they might oppose the Passage of the Enemy. But this Design was prevented by the Expeditionness of the Enemy's March, who passing the *Po* at *Ostia*, had crossed the Territory of *Bologna* by the Way of *Cento* and *Butrio*, and were entered into the Dominions of the Duke of *Ferrara*, from whence they proceeded, and after sacking *Granarolo*, a Castle in the *Faentine*, came before *Faenza*, in order to try whether the Name of a Youth of the Family of the *Manfredi*, who was in their Army, could excite the *Faentines* to endeavour at a Change, But all Things continuing very quiet in the City they passed forwards without making any other Attempt on the Towns of *Romagna*, which had all Garisons, either of Men at Arms or of Foot, and for the better Security of *Rimini*, *Renzo* and *Vitello* were gone thither by Sea. *Lorenzo* proceeded to *Cesena*, to assemble there

THE WARS IN ITALY.

13

there and at *Rimini* his Forces; but the Enemy being advanced forwards he ceased not in the mean time to enlist Soldiers in many Places, which abounded with them in greater Numbers than he wanted or even desired. For Twenty-five Hundred German Foot, and above Four Thousand Gascons, being dismissed by *Lautrech*, and about to return to their own Country, *Giovanni da Poppi*, Secretary to *Lorenzo*, and his Agent for several Months with *Lautrech*, either out of a vain Suspicion that their Infantry, being out of Pay, would follow *Francesco Maria*, or persuading himself, on slight Grounds, that the War might soon be brought to a happy Issue with these Forces, enlisted them by his own Authority, making Use of the Authority of *Lautrech* with the principal Officers, and immediately put them in Motion towards *Bologna*; so that the Pontiff and *Lorenzo*, who, on account of the Suspicion they had of the King, were highly dissatisfied at this presumptuous Step of *Poppi*, had no Room to refuse them, for fear that after they had proceeded thus far they would join with their Enemies.

A. D.
1517.

IN

A. D.

1517.

IN the mean time *Francesco Maria* proceeded forwards, and entering the State of *Urbino* was every where received with great Joy by the People, not a Soldier being found in the Towns; for *Lorenzo* not having had Time to provide for so many Places, had only taken Care for the Defence of the City of *Urbino*, the Seat and Capital of the Dutchy; and for this Purpose, by Advice of *Vitello*, he had sent thither Two Thousand Foot from *Citta di Castello*, and in the Room of *Vitello*, who refused to go, had appointed *Giacomo Rossetto* of *Citta di Castello* to conduct them. That Officer being by many advised, because the People were by no means to be trusted, to drive all who were able to bear Arms out of the City, refused to do it. *Francesco Maria* therefore, without Loss of Time, marched directly to *Urbino*, and though his first Approach to the Walls was unsuccessful, yet on his coming before them a second Time *Giacomo Rossetto* agreed to surrender him the Town, induced either by Unfaithfulness, as many believed, or by Fear of the People, who were all in an Uproar,

Urbino
surrendered to
the Duke.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

Uproar, for he had no Reason to be afraid of the Forces of the Enemy, who were unprovided with Artillery, and all other Necessaries for a Siege. The Garrison marched out with Safety to their Persons and Effects according to the Capitulation, but Bishop *Vitella*, who had governed that State in the Name of the new Duke, and under whom nothing seemed to have succeeded prosperously, remained Prisoner. The Example of *Urbino* was followed by the whole State, except *San Leo*, which being very strong by Situation was defended by a small Garrison. The Citizens of *Agobbio*, which had at first declared for the Duke, and afterwards repenting themselves had returned to the Obedience of *Lorenzo*, seeing such a Train of Success, did the same as the rest of the Towns. *Pesaro*, *Sinigaglia*, *Gradara* and *Mandavio*, Towns separate from the Datchy, remained in the Power of *Lorenzo*.

FRANCESCO MARIA after the Recovery of *Urbino* applied his Thoughts to make himself Master of some of the maritime Places, and because *Pesaro* and *Sinigaglia* had

THE HISTORY OF

D.
317.
 had numerous Garrisons, having made a Feint to march to *Pesaro*, he turned towards *Fano*, a City usually in a worse State of Defence, and having never been in Subjection to him was the less afraid of him. But *Renzo da Ceri*, who was at *Pesaro*, having Notice of his Design, immediately ordered to *Fano Troilo Savello* with an Hundred Men at Arms and Six Hundred Foot. The Enemy approached the Place with five Pieces of Artillery, not very large, which they had found in *Urbino*, and being in Want also of Powder, they had made a Breach in the Wall of not above twenty Braces, and that with Difficulty, yet they stormed the Place, but were repulsed with the Loss of about an Hundred and Fifty Men. Undaunted, however, they gave a fresh Assault the next Day, and with such Vigour that the Breach was in a manner abandoned, and they would without Doubt have entered the Town, had it not been for the Valour of *Fabiano da Gallese*, Lieutenant to *Troilo*, who maintaining his Post at the Wall with a few Men at Arms, performed Wonders in its Defence, and repulsed the Enemy.

They

Duke at
 tacks *Fano*
 in vain.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 17

They would have given another Assault ^{A. D.} the next Day, but being informed that ^{1517.} Five Hundred Men from *Pesaro* had entered the Place by Sea in the Night, they decamped and went and posted themselves at *Castello di Monte Baroccio*, seated on a very high Mountain, and very strong by Situation, from whence the Descent is easy towards *Fossombrone* and *Urbino*, but difficult and very rugged towards *Pesaro*. By remaining in this Post, as they had at present no Opportunity to employ their Arms to better Purpose, they covered the Dutchy of *Urbino* which lay behind them.

ON the other Side the *German* and *Gascon* Foot, with great Numbers besides of *Italian* Foot taken into Pay, and Fifteen Hundred *German* Foot of those who had lain in Garrison at *Verona*, arrived at *Rimini*, where *Lorenzo de' Medici* had his Quarters, and where almost the whole Cavalry of the Pope and of the *Florentines* was also assembled. *Lorenzo*, who being unexperienced in War was directed by the Advice of the Generals, advanced with his Men at Arms to *Pesaro*, and

A. D. 1517. ordered his Foot to post themselves on the
 Mountains opposite to the Enemy. The
 Situation of *Pesaro*. City of *Pesaro* is seated at the Entrance
 of a Valley, that extends itself towards
Urbino, and gives Passage to a River, which
 is called by the Inhabitants *Porto*, because
 in that Place it is navigable for Barks, and
 runs near the City on the Side towards *Ri-*
mini. The Castle is towards the Sea, and be-
 tween the River and the City are a Multitude
 of Warehouses, which for the Security of
 the Town *Renzo* had demolished. A
 great Part of the City is surrounded on all
 Sides by Mountains, which reach not to
 the Sea, but between them and the Sea
 leave some Space for a Plain, which on the
 Side towards *Fano* is two Miles in Breadth;
 and on the Downs are two Hills one over
 against another, of which that towards the
 Sea is called *Candelara*, and the other, to-
 wards *Urbino*, *Nugolara*, and on the Top
 of each of these Hills is a Castle of the
 same Name with the Hill. Now the
Italian Foot were posted at the Castle of
Candelara, and the *Germans* and *Gascons* at
 that of *Nugolara*, next to the Enemy,
 which was done not with an Intention to
 fight,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

19

fight, unless it were in slight Skirmishes, A. D.
 but to prevent them from ranging the 1517.
 Country at Liberty, or undertaking any
 Enterprize. For the Pope had resolved not
 to come to a decisive Battle, unless he
 were in a manner assured of the Victory,
 knowing how dangerous it was to engage
 with valiant Soldiers, and who, because
 the Reward of Success was unequal, were
 ready to hazard themselves; that the Da-
 mage would be very considerable if his
 Army should be overcome, because the
 State of the Church and of the *Florentines*
 would be exposed to manifest Danger;
 and that it was the safest Way to tempo-
 rise, and stand upon the Defensive, since
 he had good Grounds to hope that the
 Want of Money and Provisions, in so
 poor and barren a Country, would be suf-
 ficient to put the Enemy in Disorder, and
 no less Reason to believe that his own Army
 by Experience, and by the Reinforce-
 ments which it received Month after
 Month of choicer Troops, would be in a
 better Condition; and also because he was
 in Expectation that the State of his Af-
 fairs would improve every Day, considering

A. D. 1517. that in the Beginning of this Movement, besides taking care to assist himself with the pontifical Authority, he had earnestly demanded Succours of all the Princes, making his Complaints to their Ambassadors in *Rome*, and by Apostolic Briefs, and by Messages, to the Princes themselves; but not to all of them after the same Manner. For in signifying to *Cæsar* and the King of *Spain* the Conspiracy formed by *Francesco Maria della Rovere* and the *Spanish* Foot in the Camp of the King of *France*, and under the Eyes of his Lieutenant, he inserted such Expressions in the Briefs, as made it plainly appear that he had no small Suspicion that the Plot was concerted with the Knowledge of that King; but with the most Christian King, after shewing some Suspicions of *Lautrech*, he did not push his Complaints any farther.

Pope
complains
of the
Duke of
Urbino.

THE Affair of *Urbino* was regarded by the Princes with different Concern, for *Cæsar* and his Grandson understood with great Pleasure that the Pope imputed this Injury to the King of *France*. The first from his antient Hatred, and natural Inconstancy,

THE WARS IN ITALY. 21

constancy, being already at Variance with ^{A. D.} the King of *France*, had entered into a ^{1517.} new Confederacy with the King of *England*, and in a Conference with his Grandson at *Antwerp* dissuaded him from his intended Interview with the King of *France*, which was at last wholly laid aside by Consent of both Kings; and as for the Catholic King, his Confederacy with the King of *France* was not sufficient to suppress his rising Emulation and Jealousy of him. They readily therefore offered the ^{Promised Assistance from} Pope their Assistance, and commanded all ^{Cæsar and the King of Spain.} their Subjects to desist from serving in a War against the Pope; and the Catholic King ordered the Count of *Potenza*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, to review his Men at Arms, and to march with Four Hundred Lances to his Assistance; and, for the greater Testimony of his Affection, he deprived, as in Case of Disobedience, *Francesco Maria* of the Dutchy of *Sora*, which was purchased by his Father on the Borders of the *Terra di Lavoro*.

BUT the King of *France* was for a different Reason pleased with the Troubles of the

A. D. Pope, as a Prince who was in his Heart
 1517. disaffected towards him; and therefore at
 first, following his Example, and feeding
 him with vain Hopes, he answered that
 he was extremely concerned at his Mis-
 fortunes, and promised to take care that
Lautrech should assist him in his Proceed-
 ings, subjoining, however, that the Pontiff
 himself had been the Cause of his own
 Sufferings, for the *Spaniards* would never
 have been so audacious if their Numbers
 had not been increased by those who,
 with his Leave, had passed from *Naples* to
Verona. Such were the King's Intentions
 at the Beginning, but afterwards consider-
 ing that if the Pontiff were abandoned by
 him, he might precipitate himself without
 Restraint into an Alliance with the Catho-
 lic King, he resolved to shew him some
 Favour, but at the same time to make some
 Profit of his Necessity. The Pontiff there-
 fore soliciting his Assistance, he ordered
 that Three Hundred Lances should march
 from *Milan* for that Purpose, and at the
 same time proposed as needful a new Con-
 federacy between them, because that
 which had been contracted at *Bologna* had
 been

From the
 King of
 France.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

23

been violated by the Pope many Ways, ^{A. D.} and was therefore become of no longer ^{1517.} Consideration. These Offers were attended with many Complaints, for sometimes the King complained that the Pope had wrongfully accused him to other Princes, sometimes that out of Spite to him, and to gratify the Cardinal of *Sion*, he had excommunicated *Giorgio Soprasasso* who favoured his Interest with the *Swiss*. Besides this, the King's Mother, who had the Title of Regent, and had great Authority with him, reproved, without Respect, the unmerciful Dealings of the Pope, who not content with driving a Prince out of his own State, had afterwards excommunicated him, and by withholding the Dowry and the Profits of it from the Dutchess Dowager, and from the young Dutchess his Wife, had been the Cause of their wanting Necessaries for Subsistence; and her Words coming to the Ears of the Pope augmented his Suspicions.

BUT the Pope beset with so many Difficulties desired the *French* Auxiliaries, not for their Service, but for their Name and

A. D. Reputation, and the Three Hundred

1517.

Lances took their March from *Milan*, but were directed by the Pope, who was not able to dissemble his Suspicions, to halt for many Days in the *Modenese* and *Bolognese*, after which they were by *Lorenzo* assigned Quarters in *Rimini*, because that City being at a good Distance from the Enemy, they had the less Power while they were stationed there to do any Mischief. Nor were those Suspicions moderated by the Confederacy which about the same Time was concluded at *Rome*, for the King before he would ratify started new Difficulties, by which the Affair was suspended for many Days; but at last, the Pope giving up many Points, the King ratified.

New
Confede-
racy be-
tween the
Pope and
the King
of France.

The Confederacy contained a reciprocal Obligation between the Pontiff and the King to the Defence of their respective States, with a certain Number of Troops, and Twelve Thousand Ducats a Month: That between the King of *France* and the *Florentines*, in Conjunction with the Authority of *Lorenzo de' Medici*, and with the Comprehension of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, there should be the same Obligation, but with

THE WARS IN ITALY.

25

With a less Number of Troops, and Six ^{A. D.} Thousand Ducats a Month: That the ^{1517.} King should be bound to assist the Pope when he had a Mind to proceed against the Subjects or Feudataries of the Church: That the Pope should grant the King the Nomination of Benefices, and the Tenth according to the Promises he had made in *Bologna*, on Condition that the Money should be repositied in order to be expended in a War against the *Turks*, under which specious Pretence the Tenth were granted, but with tacit Hopes given the King, that after the whole Quantity was deposited, the Condition with which it was clogged should be taken off by another Brief, and the King left at Liberty to convert it wholly to his own Use. The Pope promised the King by a separate Brief never to request his Aid against the Duke of *Ferrara*, and even be content that the King should take him into his Protection. There was a long Dispute about the Restitution of *Reggio*, *Modena* and *Rubiera*, which was demanded by his Majesty with the greatest Earnestness according to the Promises he had received

at

A. D. at *Bologna*. Nor was it denied by the

1517.

Pope, but reserved for another Time, for which he alledged as Reasons, that it would be highly unworthy of him, and look like a Confession that he was driven to the last Necessity, to restore those Towns when he was encumbered with War. The King, however, insisted on a present Restitution, till at last the Pope appearing disposed to break off from all Engagements, if the Point were pressed any farther, his Most Christian Majesty considering that the King of *England* was his Enemy, and that he suspected *Cæsar*, the King of *Spain*, and the *Swiss*, was content with a Brief to be put into his Hands, in which the Pope should promise to restore *Modena*, *Reggio* and *Rubiera* to the Duke of *Ferrara* within the next seven Months. But *Leo* had resolved in his Mind, as soon as he should be freed from his Dangers, to pay no more Regard to his Brief than he had to his Word which he had passed at *Bologna*. And as for the King, since he could obtain no more of the Pontiff without Danger of incurring his extreme Indignation, he thought it, however, of some
Moment

THE WARS IN ITALY.

27

Moment that his Promises and Faith ^{A. D.}
would appear in Writing. ^{1517.}

BUT while these Things were in Agitation the Army of *Lorenzo* being sufficiently augmented, for, besides many new Levies of *Italians*, the Pope had listed a Thousand *Spanish* and as many *German* Foot in *Rome*, it appeared high Time to attempt getting free from this War, for which Purpose it was necessary to dislodge the Enemy from their strong Camp, which they could only hope to effect by forcing them to abandon it for Want of Provisions. *Camillo Orsino* was therefore detached with Seven Hundred light Horse to scour the Country called the *Vicariato*, from which the Enemy drew the greater Part of their Subsistence. At this Time a Trumpet came to *Pesaro* from the Enemy's Army, to demand of *Lorenzo* a Pass for one *Suares* a *Spanish* Officer, and any one whom he should bring in his Company, to wait upon him. *Lorenzo* easily granted his Request, imagining this *Suares* had been an Officer with whom he held secret Intelligence. But there came another Officer
of

A. D. of the same Name, and with him *Oratio*
 1517. *da Fermo*, Secretary to *Francesco Maria*.

After demanding public Audience *Suares*,
 in the Name of *Francesco Maria*, declared,
 that as the Differences between them were
 capable of being decided by a Combat
 of them alone, or in Conjunction with a
 determinate Number on each Side, it was
 more convenient to chuse one of these Me-
 thods, than persevere in that Course by
 which the People were wickedly destroyed,
 and their future Lord, whoever he should
 be, greatly endamaged. *Francesco Maria*,
 therefore, gives Leave to *Lorenzo* to chuse
 either of these Methods as he thinks fit.
 After these Words he offered to read a
 Writing, but was forbidden. *Lorenzo*, by
 the Advice of his Officers, answered that
 he willingly accepted the Proposal, pro-
 vided that *Francesco Maria* would first re-
 linquish what he had taken Possession of
 by Violence. When he had thus spoken,
 at the Instigation of *Renzo da Ceri*, he or-
 dered them both to be imprisoned, *Renzo*
 affirming that they deserved to be punished
 for their extraordinary Insolence. But the
 rest of the Generals reproving him for
 Breach

Duke of
Urbino
 chal-
 lenges *Lo-*
renzo.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 29

Breach of Faith he dismissed *Suares*, and A. D.
1517. only detained *Oratio*, excusing the infamous Violation of his Faith by false Cavils, as if it had been necessary for *Oratio*, who was by Origin a Subject of the Church, and by Employment a Secretary of an Enemy, to be expressly named in the Pass. But this was done with an Intent to extort from him the secret Counsels of *Francesco Maria*, and particularly to learn by whose Advice and Authority he had raised the War. Being examined on the Rack, it is reported he made such a Confession as augmented the Jealousy conceived of the King of *France*.

BUT the Design of *Lorenzo* to prevent the *Spaniards* from receiving Supplies of Provisions from the *Vicariato* required greater Forces to put it effectually in Execution, for the Excursions of the light Horse were very insufficient for that End, and the Army was now in a Condition boldly to face the Enemy. For *Lorenzo* had got together, besides a Thousand Men at Arms, and as many light Horse, Fifteen Thousand Foot of different Nations, among
whom

A. D. 1517. whom were above Two Thousand *Spaniards* enlisted at *Rome*, an Infantry perfectly exercised in Arms, and very choice Troops; and the *Italian* Foot, there being no War in any other Place, and the Officers on that Account having Opportunities to exchange by Degrees the more unserviceable new and hasty Levies for Troops of longer Standing and of more Service, consisted of the Flower of the Infantry in all *Italy*. It was resolved then to march and encamp at *Sorbolungo*, a Castle of the Territory of *Fano*, five Miles distant from *Fossombrone*, in which Situation it was easy to prevent the Enemy from receiving Provisions out of the *Vicariato*. The City of *Fossombrone* is seated on the River *Metro*, famous for the Victory of the *Romans* over *Asdrubal* the *Carthaginian*. This River has its Course as far as that Place in a Channel straitened between the Mountains, but as soon as it has passed *Fossombrone*, begins to glide through a wider Valley, which still dilates itself the nearer it approaches the Sea, which is fifteen Miles distant from *Fossombrone*, and the *Metro* falls into it near *Fano*; but on the Side towards *Sinigaglia*.
On

THE WARS IN ITALY. 31

On the right Hand, according to the Course A. D.
of the River, is the Country called the *Vica-* 1517.
riato, all full of fertile Hills and Villages, and
extending itself a long Way toward the
Sea Coasts. On the left Hand of the
River are also Hills, but at a greater
Distance you meet with lofty and rugged
Mountains; and that Part of the Plain
which extends itself towards *Fano* is above
three Miles in Breadth. When *Lorenzo*
therefore determined to go, and post him-
self at *Sorbolungo*, suspecting that the Ene-
my, on perceiving the Motion of his Camp,
would prevent him, he detached, before
Break of Day, *Giovanni de' Medici*, *Giovan*
Battista da Stabbia, and *Brunoro da Forli*
with Four Hundred light Horse to take
Possession of the Castle, and having ordered
the Foot that were at *Candelara* and *Nugo-*
lara to cross the Mountains, and march to
join the others towards the *Metro*, he him-
self with the whole Remainder of the
Army, leaving *Guido Rangone* with an
Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms for the
Security of *Pesaro*, decamped at Sunrise,
and took his March from *Pesaro* towards
Fano along the Sea Shore; and turning
towards

A. D.

1517.

towards *Fossombrone*, where the Valley begins, he arrived by Noon at a Place called *il Mulino di Madonna* on the River, which all the Horse, and the *Italian* Infantry waded, but the *Gascons* and *Germans* were so slow in passing it over a Bridge prepared for that Purpose, that the Army not being able to arrive the same Day, according to Appointment, at *Sorbolungo*, were constrained to take up their Quarters at *San Giorgio*, *Occiano* and *Mondavio*, Villages half a Mile distant one from another. But the light Horse had no better Success in executing their Orders than the others, for, while they were on their March, *Giovanni de' Medici*, who in this his first Campaign gave Signs of his future Valour and Conduct, perceiving that by Mistake they had taken the longest Way, left the others, who despised his Advice, and entered *Sorbolungo* several Hours before Night; the other Officers, after fetching a long Compass, being deceived, as they said, by their Guide, returned at last to the Army. Nor could *Giovanni de' Medici*, who had only his own Regiment with him, take up his Quarters that Night in *Sorbolungo*,
for

THE WARS IN ITALY.

33

for the same Morning *Francesco Maria* per- A. D.
1517.
ceiving the Enemy in Motion, and imagin-

ing whither they were going, had with
utmost Expedition put himself on his March
with the whole Army, in which he met
with no Impediment from the River, pas-
sing it at *Fossombrone* over a Stone Bridge,
and arrived at *Sorbolungo* before Night.
On his Coming *Giovanni* finding himself
unable to make Resistance retired towards
Orciano, being followed by the Enemy's
Horse, who took many of his Men
Prisoners. When he was got into *Or-*
ciano he repaired to the Quarters of *Lorenzo*,
and told him, with the greatest Indigna-
tion, that either by the Negligence or
Cowardice of *Brunoro* and *Giovan Battista*
da Stabbia, who were there present, he
had that Day lost the Opportunity of giving
a happy Turn to the War. This was the
first but not the only Piece of ill Conduct
in the Army of *Lorenzo* by Mis-improve-
ment of Advantages, for afterwards they
lost greater Opportunities of Success, and
more pernicious Disorders continually fol-
lowed, bad Counsels attending upon ad-
verse Fortune. The Castles of *Orciano*

III Con-
duct of
Lorenzo.

A. D. and *Sorbolunga* are seated on Eminences,
 1517. and distant one from another a little above
 two Miles; the Ground between them is
 full of little Hills and Mountains, and has
 a Castle called *Barti*, which was possessed
 by Part of the Troops of *Francesco Maria*,
 and in so near a Vicinity of the Armies the
 next Day was spent in Skirmishes.

VARIOUS were the Opinions of the
 Generals in *Lorenzo's* Army; some of
 them, but chiefly those who had not Au-
 thority enough to sway the Resolution,
 were for marching up and attacking the
 Enemy, with a Design, perhaps, by vainly
 proposing bold Counsels, without Hazard
 to themselves or others, to acquire the
 Name of Courageous. But *Renzo* and
Vitello, whose Advice was always followed
 by *Lorenzo*, dissuaded him from that
 Opinion, because the Enemies were strong-
 ly posted under the Shelter of a Castle, to
 which was no Access but by a difficult
 Road. They were also against remaining
 in their present Situation, as of no Service,
 and not answering the End for which they
 had moved from *Pesaro*; for while *Sorbo-*
lunga

THE WARS IN ITALY.

35

lungo was in the Possession of *Francesco* A. D.

1517.

Maria it was very difficult to prevent him from supplying himself with Provisions from the *Vicariato*. These Reasons being sufficient to condemn all other Resolutions, it was of Necessity concluded that the Army should return the same Way; and that this Retreat might not have the Appearance of a Flight, it was proposed that they should not retire to their former Quarters, but go and take Possession of *Monte Baroccio* and other Posts which the Enemy had quitted, from which they might proceed towards *Urbino*. With this Resolution the Army decamped the next Morning by Break of Day; but this Motion was believed not to be a Retreat but a Flight, and this Opinion being spread through their whole Camp, two Men at Arms fled away to *Francesco Maria*, and informed him that his Enemies were seized with a Consternation, and had broke up in manner of a Flight. The Duke therefore imagining himself almost sure of Victory immediately moved with his Army by the Road that crosses the Mountains, in Hopes of preventing the Enemy, and falling upon them as soon

A. D. 1517. soon as they were descended into the Plain, as he supposed they would be sure to take the shortest and easiest Way, which if they had taken it would have been impossible for either Party to avoid coming to a Battle. But Fortune had ordered that, for the Sake of saving a Piece of Cannon left behind the Day before on the Breaking of one of its Carriage-Wheels, the Army of *Lorenzo* should march and repass the *Metro* at the same *Molino di Madonna*, which is a Place four Miles lower than the Passage to which they would have gone by the shortest and easiest Road. On such slight Causes and Accidents are often dependent in Wars Events of the greatest Importance! All the Horse and Foot waded the River, but very slowly, and those that had passed were immediately drawn up in Order towards *Fossombrone*. The Foot had already passed, and the Men at Arms and light Horse, which were numerous and choice, began to skirmish with them. In the Conflict was taken *Gostantino*, the Son, and you may as well say the Grandson, of *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, for he begot him on his own Sister.

Wherefore

Wherefore *Gian Pagolo*, who arrived in the Army not many Days before, and conducted the Vanguard, while he was busied in making his utmost Efforts to recover him, spent so much Time that from the Vanguard he became the Rearguard, *Lorenzo*, who led the main Battle, succeeded him in the Van, and *Troilo Savello*, who conducted the Rearguard, became with his Troops the main Battle, for *Renzo* and *Vitello* with the Foot marched forwards. But as soon as *Francesco Maria* and his Commanders perceived that the Enemy according as they had passed the River turned themselves towards *Fossombrone*, they were convinced that they had put themselves in Motion not in order for a Flight, but to possess themselves of *Monte Baroccio*. They had no longer therefore a Desire to fight, which was grounded on an imaginary Terror of the Enemy, but left their Baggage, and immediately ran with all the Speed they could make, in no manner of Order, and with their Colours on their Shoulders, to seize upon a strong Pass on the River, called *Tavernelle*, where Nature has form'd

A. D. 1517. a Ditch between Precipices, which runs quite across the Plain to the Mountains, and cannot be passed but at one Place, which is levelled for the Road. If the Troops of *Lorenzo*, as they had passed the River, had directed their March that Way, and arrived first at that Pass, the *Spaniards* would have been in very dangerous Circumstances. But though *Lodovico*, Son of *Liverotto da Fermo*, who was the same Day arrived in the Army with a Thousand Foot, and a *Spanish* Serjeant, who were both acquainted with the Country, gave Notice to *Lorenzo* and his Generals of the favourable Opportunity, they made no Advantage of it; for though the *German* and *Gascon* Infantry shewed a mighty Eagerness to engage, and the same Shouting for a Battle ran through all the Camp, to which *Lorenzo* seemed no way averse, yet it was the Advice of *Renzo da Ceri* and *Vitello* by no means to encounter with the Enemy, but to retire to a neighbouring Hill, whence, without exposing themselves to any Danger, they might with their light Horse do them very considerable Damage in their Passing of the River.

Great
Overfight
of the Ec-
clesiastic
Generals.

Thus

Thus leaving that strong Pass open *Renzo* As D.
 turned his March towards the Mountain, 1517.
 and the *Spaniards* had no sooner seized the
 Pass than they saluted the *Germans* that
 were near them with their Harquebuses,
 and full of Alacrity shouted for Joy that
 they knew themselves delivered from ma-
 nifest Danger into a State of almost perfect
 Security.

THUS either thro' Imprudence or
 Cowardice, if Malignity had no Share in
 it, *Lorenzo*, in the Opinion of all Men,
 lost that Day an Opportunity of Victory.
 The next Night his Army took up their
 Quarters at a neighbouring Castle called
Saltara, but the Army of *Francesco Ma-*
ria continued to march with the greatest
 Speed for a good Part of the Night, till
 they arrived at their old Quarters at *Monte*
Baroccio, preventing Two Thousand Foot
 detached by *Lorenzo* to seize that Post.
 That General the next Day removed his
 Camp two Miles above *Saltara* towards
 the Mountain to a Place that looks towards
Monte Baroccio, but lower, and on the
 Side towards the Sea. The Armies rested

Situation
 of the
 Armies.

A. D. 1517. in this Situation at the Distance of about a Mile one from another, but with greater Inconvenience to that of *Lorenzo*, which often suffered for Want of Provisions; for as they were conveyed from *Pesaro* to *Fano* by Sea, it was necessary, whenever the Navigation was obstructed by contrary Winds, to escort them by Land, in which they met with many Impediments from the light Horse of *Francesco Maria*, who, receiving constant Intelligence from the Peasants of every Motion, how inconsiderable soever, of the Enemy, were continually scouring over all the Country.

AT this Time *Francesco Maria* sent a Trumpet to shew the *Gascons* certain Letters which were found among the Papers of *Lorenzo's* Secretaries, which together with Part of his Carriages had been taken by the Enemy's Horse on the Day that he removed from the Castle of *Saltara*. By these Letters it appeared that the Pope being tired with the unconscionable Exactions of the *Gascons*, whose Pay it had been necessary to increase every Month to a most immoderate Degree, desired the General to use

THE WARS IN ITALY.

41

use all his Endeavours to induce them to return beyond the Mountains. On this Occasion there had like to have been a Tumult among the *Gascons* that same Day, if *Carbon* their General, who was a *Gascon*, and *Lorenzo de' Medici* had not done all they could to persuade them that these Letters were counterfeit, and a meer Trick of the Enemy, and by that Means restrained them. The Suspicion, however, of such a Disorder, together with the Difficulty of receiving Provisions, and the Inconvenience of their Situation, where the Danger of sustaining some Loss was without Comparifon greater than the Hopes of obtaining any Advantage, made them resolve on Decamping, though it seemed somewhat disgraceful to draw off so frequently from the Enemy, and to enter the *Vicariato* on that Side which is nearest to the Sea, and to proceed as far as the Borders towards *Fossombrone*. This Resolution met with the Approbation of the whole Camp, but reflected great Shame and Dishonour on *Renzo* and *Vitello*; for all the Soldiers cried out with one united Voice that if they had taken the same Resolution

A. D.

1517.

Lorenzo
decampa.

at

A. D. 1517. at the Beginning they would have reduced the Enemies to great Straits by cutting off their Provisions; nay *Lorenzo* himself more than others blamed them, complaining that either with a View to prolong the War for their own Profit, or to prevent him from making himself renowned in Arms, dreading perhaps the same Effects from his Greatness as their Family had suffered from the Greatness of Duke *Valentino*, they had brought into such a Multitude of Difficulties and Dangers an Army so potent, and so superior in Number and Strength to the Enemy.

LORENZO then with his Army marched and laid Siege to *San Gostanzo*, a Castle of the *Vicariato*, and tho' the Inhabitants, while the Cannon were playing on the Walls, begged Leave to capitulate, yet the General knowing it was easy to force the Place, and desiring to mitigate the proud Spirits of the *Gascons*, drew off the other Soldiers from the Wall, and left none but the *Gascons* to give the Assault, that they might have all the Plunder to themselves. After taking *Gostanzo* the Army went the same Day and laid Siege to *Mondolfo*, two Miles

THE WARS IN ITALY.

43

Miles distant, the strongest and best Castle A. D.
of the *Vicariato*, seated on a Hill upon an 1517.
Eminence, and surrounded by Ditches,

and a Wall by no means contemptible, to which the Situation of the Place makes a Rampart, and garrisoned by two Hundred *Spanish* Foot. The Cannon were planted the same Night on the Side towards the South, but either through the Negligence or Inconsiderateness of *Renzo da Ceri*, who had the Direction, they were planted in an open Place, and without Ramparts, so that, before the Sun had been risen an Hour, eight Gunners, and a Multitude of Workmen were killed, and *Antonio Santa Croce*, General of the Artillery, was wounded by the Cannon of the Place. *Lorenzo* was greatly disturbed at this Loss, and tho' he was advised by all the Generals not to execute himself at so great a Hazard what might be committed to the Management of others, he went in Person to order and inspect the Construction of the Ramparts, where having fatigued himself till Noon, and cast up such Works as were necessary, he retired to go and take his Repose under
some

A. D.

1517.

some Trees, where he thought he should be covered by the Rising of the Mountain; but as he was going the Height of the Hill failing to cover him, he perceived on one Side a Fort situated towards the West, and had no sooner discovered it than he saw the Flash of a Harquebuss; to avoid the Shot he threw himself with his Face towards the Earth, but before his Body reached the Ground the Bullet, which would otherwise have penetrated his Body, struck him on the Top of the Head, and grazing on the Bone, passed along the Scalp, and came out towards the Nape of the Neck.

Lorenzo
wounded.

AFTER *Lorenzo* was wounded, the Generals perceiving that tho' the Wall was in a ruinous Condition the Rampart was yet too high, began to work on a Mine, which they carried under a Tower contiguous to the Breach, and springing it on the fifth Day it blew up the Tower with a great Piece of the adjoining Wall, on which an Assault was immediately given, but in a disorderly, and, as it were, careless Manner, which produced no other Effect

THE WARS IN ITALY.

45

Effect than what continually results from *A. D.*
 an ill disposed Attack. But when Night ^{1517.}
 came on the Garrison expecting no Relief, because *Francesco Maria*, either because he would not lose his advantageous Situation, or for some other Reason, had *Mondolfo*
 not decamped from *Monte Baroccio*, surrendered on Condition of Safety to their *Lorenzo's*
 Persons and Effects, basely leaving the Army.
 Inhabitants a Prey to the Soldiers.

LORENZO from his Wound being in very great Danger of his Life, the Pope sent as Legate to the Army the Cardinal of *Santa Maria in Portico*, who, as bad Fortune had already joined itself to the worst of Governments, entered on his Legation with unlucky Omens; for the Day after his Arrival in the Army a Quarrel happening to arise between an *Italian* and a *German* Foot-Soldier, and those that were nearest running into the Fray, and every one crying up the Name of his Nation, the Tumult spread itself over the whole Camp, so that none knowing whence or for what Reason it arose, all the Foot retired tumultuously to the Quarters

A dangerous
 Tumult
 in the
 Army.

A. D. ters of their Comerades to arm themselves.

1517.

But those who in retiring happened to light upon Troops of another Tongue, had many of them their Throats cut; and, what was the Cause of the greater Disorder, the *Italian* Foot, which went in good Order towards the Place where the Quarrel began, had their Quarters in the mean time plundered by the *Gascons*. The chief Officers of the Army assembled together with a Design to put a Stop to these Disorders, but seeing the Tumult grown to a great Height and dangerous, every one abandoned the Care of the Public for his private Interests, and each Officer retiring to his Quarters immediately put his Men at Arms in Order, and thinking only how to bring them off in Safety; led them about a Mile out of the Camp. Only the Legate *Bibbiena*, with a Constancy and Readiness becoming his Honour and Office, did not abandon the common Cause, tho' oftentimes put in great Danger of his Life by the Fury of the enraged Multitude. By his pious Endeavours, though not without great Difficulty, and the Interposition of many Officers of the Foot, the Tumult

THE WARS IN ITALY.

47

Tumult was at length appeased, after *A. D.*
there had perished in several Quarters of *1517.*
the Camp above an Hundred *German*
Foot, above Twenty *Italian*, and some
Spanish Foot. This Accident was the
Cause that (as it was doubted that if the
Army stay'd together the Foot, being ex-
asperated by the Injuries they had received,
would on any slight Occasion fall together
by the Ears) a Resolution was taken to go
upon no Enterprize for the present, but to
keep the Army separate. Wherefore the
Men at Arms belonging to the Church and
the *Florentines*, with the *Italian* Foot, had
their Quarters assigned in the City of *Pe-
saro*; for as to the *French* Lances, the
Differences between the Pontiff and King
being not yet adjusted, they had never moved
from *Rimini*. The *Gascon* Foot encamped
in a Plain about half a Mile from that City,
and the rest of the Infantry were distributed
upon the Mountain *della Imperiale*, on
which is a Palace built by the antient *Ma-
latesti*; and they were disposed in such
Order that the *Spaniards* had their Quar-
ters on the Top of the Mountain, the
Germans lower on the Descent, and the
Corficans

A. D. *Corficans* at the Foot of the Mountain. In

1517.

this Situation they remained three and twenty Days, during which there happened no Action but Skirmishes between the light Horse. For *Francesco Maria*, having no Grounds to hope for a Victory over so numerous an Enemy in the open Field, and as little Reason to expect Success in the Siege of any Town while they lay so near him, was only intent to preserve what he had acquired.

BUT on the four and twentieth Day the Duke decamped in the Night from *Monte Baroccio*, and arrived by Break of Day on the Top of the Mountain at the Quarters of the *Spaniards*, with all or some of whom, it is believed from what appeared in the Progress of the Affair, he had held secret Intelligence. Immediately upon his Arrival the *Spaniards* of his own Party cried out to the others, that, if they intended to save themselves, they should follow them; at which Call the greater Part of *Lorenzo's Spaniards*, each Man putting on his Head a Twig with green Leaves,

as the others had, went over to them, only the Officers, with about Eight Hundred Foot, retired to *Pesaro*. Thus joined they went and beat up the Quarters of the *German*s, who had no Watch on that Side, as imagining themselves in Security from the Neighbourhood of the *Spaniards*; finding them thus unguarded, they killed and wounded above Six Hundred of them, the rest flying down to the *Corficans*, with whom they joined, and marched all off together towards *Pesaro*. The *Gascons* perceived the Tumult, and got under Arms, but would not so much as stir out of their Places.

A. D.
1517.
Duke of
Urbino
beats up
the Rne-
my's
Quarters.

FRANCESCO MARIA, having done this Execution upon the *German*s, and drawn over the greater Part of the *Spaniards* into his Service, encamped with his Army between *Urbino* and *Pesaro*, full of Hopes that he should be joined by the *Gascons*, and by those *German* Foot who had at the same Time been broken and quitted the Camp of *Lautrech*, and had ever since marched, lodged, and proceeded in Conjunction with them. Among the *Gascons*

A. D.

1517.

was one *Ambra*, who was emulous of the General *Carbone*, being a young Gentleman of more noble Blood, a Kinsman of *Lautrech*, and of greater Authority with them. This *Ambra* had for many Days been secretly contriving to carry over these *Gascon* Foot with him to *Francesco Maria*. And he had an Opportunity given him by their Discontent, for they were not satisfied with an immoderate Increase of their Pay, but made fresh and insolent Demands, and stood upon much higher Terms, with which the Pope's Ministry refusing to comply, *Carbone*, and the General of the *French* Lances, who came from *Rimini* to *Pesaro* on that Account, interposed for bringing them to an Agreement. But five or six Days after what had happened to the *Spaniards* and *Germans* at the Mountain *della Imperiale*, *Francesco Maria* with his whole Army appeared in their Neighbourhood, on which Part of the *Gascons* together with *Ambra* drew up in Order of Battle with six Field Pieces, and followed by the *Germans*, went over to him, *Carbone* in vain endeavouring by Intreaties and the warmest Expostulations to

Gascons
and *Ger-*
mans de-
sert to the
Duke.

CLIV. *getain*

THE WARS IN ITALY.

54

retain them, so that there remained with him only Seven Officers, and Thirteen Hundred Foot, for all the rest with the *Germans* abandoned him; and as in military Affairs Disorders always beget Disorders, the *Italian* Foot seeing the Necessity there was of them, the next Morning made a Mutiny, and it was necessary to grant their extravagant Demands in their Payments to appease them, as little Shame and as much Avarice being found in the Officers as in the Soldiers. And it was really Matter of Admiration that in the Army of *Francesco Maria*, in which the Soldiers received no Money, there should be so much Concord, Obedience and Unanimity, which proceeded not so much from the Abilities and Authority of the General, as it was said in high Commendation of *Annibal* the *Carthaginian*, as from the Ardor and Obstinacy of the Soldiers; and, on the contrary, that in the Army of the Church, where excessive Payments were never wanting at due Times, there should be so much Confusion and Disorder, and so great a Desire in the Troops to desert to the Enemy; whence

A. D. 1517. it appears that it is not so much by Money as by some other Causes that Concord and Obedience are oftentimes preserved in Armies.

THE Legate and others who assisted in Council being terrified at so many Misfortunes, after long Debates on procuring some Remedy for the present distressed Circumstances, being neither more prudent, nor better supplied with proper Means for making Provisions after Disorders had happened, than they had been to provide that they should not happen at all, incited also by private Passions and Interests, concluded that the Pope should be advised to restore the *Bentivogli* to *Bologna*, before that Family, taking Encouragement from the declining State of his Affairs, or at the Instigation of others, should make some Movement; and how difficult it would be for him in that Case to make Resistance appeared by the hard Struggles he had to sustain the War only in one Place. Wherefore, after they had, to give the more Authority to such Advice, or for the better Justification of every one in all Events,

got

got the Opinion of all the Members drawn up in Writing, and subscribed by the Legate, and Archbishop *Orfino*, one attached by antient Friendship, and the other by Kindred, to the *Bentivogli*, and by all the General Officers, they sent the Paper by *Ruberto Boschetto*, a *Modenese* Nobleman, to the Pope. But his Holiness not only rejected the same with Disdain, but be-
A. D. 1517.
 moaned himself with very bitter Complaints that his Ministers, and those who had received so many Favours of him, or might at all Opportunities expect Marks of his Benevolence; should so far forget their Duty, and have so little Love for him, as to propose such Counsels as were no less pernicious than the Mischiefs which his Enemies did him; but he expressed his Resentments principally against the Archbishop *Orfino*, because he had perhaps been the chief Agent in stimulating the rest to this Counsel; and this Indignation of the Pontiff is supposed to have been the Cause that the Archbishop was disappointed of the Dignity of the Cardinalship, to which he was destined, by universal Expectation, at the first Promotion.

A. D.

1517.

BUT *Francesco Maria*, from so considerable an Increase of his Forces, and Diminution of those of his Adversaries, raised his Thoughts to greater Undertakings, to which he was urged also by Necessity, for the Troops which he had brought with him had been near three Months without Pay, and it was out of his Power to find any Money for those who lately came over to him; and his Dutchy being exhausted, and in a manner all spoiled, the Soldiers were not only deprived of all Means of maintaining themselves on the Prey and Plunder of those Territories, but could not without Difficulty be supplied with Provisions from thence sufficient to keep them from starving. But in the Choice of the Enterprize he was obliged to follow the Will of others; for as to himself he was desirous, for the Establishment of his State, before he made any other Attempt, to make a fresh Attack upon *Fano*, or some other of the Towns, on the Sea Coast, but on account of the Inclination of the Soldiers, who were greedy of Prey and Rapine, he resolved

solved rather to turn his Arms against *Tuscany*, where, because it was a plentiful Country, that suspected no Invasion, and was but slenderly provided for Resistance, it was expected to meet with vast Booty. Besides this, he was in Hopes that, by Means of *Carlo Baglione* and *Borgbese Petrucci*, he might be enabled to effect a Revolution in *Perugia* and *Siena*, which would be of no small Advantage to his Affairs, as well as troublesome and dangerous to those of the Pontiff and his Nephew. The next Day, therefore, after he had been joined by the *Gascons*, he moved with his Army towards *Perugia*, but as soon as he was arrived in the Plains of *Agobbio* he resolved to discover his Suspicion, or rather almost certain Knowledge of the Treachery of Colonel *Maldonato* and of others concerned with him in the same Cause. The Plot was formed, and brought to Light in the following Manner: When the Army passed through *Romagna*, *Suares*, a *Spanish* Officer, remained behind under Pretence of Sickness, and suffering himself on purpose to be taken Prisoner, was brought to *Lorenzo* at *Cesena*, where he

A. D.

1517.

Plot
against the
Duke of
Urbino.

A. D.

1517.

BUT *Francesco Maria*, from so considerable an Increase of his Forces, and Diminution of those of his Adversaries, raised his Thoughts to greater Undertakings, to which he was urged also by Necessity, for the Troops which he had brought with him had been near three Months without Pay, and it was out of his Power to find any Money for those who lately came over to him; and his Dutchy being exhausted, and in a manner all spoiled, the Soldiers were not only deprived of all Means of maintaining themselves on the Prey and Plunder of those Territories, but could not without Difficulty be supplied with Provisions from thence sufficient to keep them from starving. But in the Choice of the Enterprize he was obliged to follow the Will of others; for as to himself he was desirous, for the Establishment of his State, before he made any other Attempt, to make a fresh Attack upon *Fano*, or some other of the Towns, on the Sea Coast, but on account of the Inclination of the Soldiers, who were greedy of Prey and Rapine, he resolved

solved rather to turn his Arms against *Tuscany*, where, because it was a plentiful Country, that suspected no Invasion, and was but slenderly provided for Resistance, it was expected to meet with vast Booty. Besides this, he was in Hopes that, by Means of *Carlo Baglione* and *Borgbese Petrucci*, he might be enabled to effect a Revolution in *Perugia* and *Siena*, which would be of no small Advantage to his Affairs, as well as troublesome and dangerous to those of the Pontiff and his Nephew. The next Day, therefore, after he had been joined by the *Gascons*, he moved with his Army towards *Perugia*, but as soon as he was arrived in the Plains of *Agobbio* he resolved to discover his Suspicion, or rather almost certain Knowledge of the Treachery of Colonel *Maldonato* and of others concerned with him in the same Cause. The Plot was formed, and brought to Light in the following Manner: When the Army passed through *Romagna*, *Suares*, a *Spanish* Officer, remained behind under Pretence of Sicknes, and suffering himself on purpose to be taken Prisoner, was brought to *Lorenzo* at *Cesena*, where he

A. D.

1517.

Plot
against the
Duke of
Urbino.

A. D.
1517.

told him, on the Part of *Maldonato* and two other *Spanish* Officers, that the Cause of their joining with *Francesco Maria* had been no other than a Design by that Means to take an Occasion to do some signal Piece of Service to the Pontiff and to him, since it had not been in their Power to prevent that Movement from taking Place, promising him in their Name that as soon as they had an Opportunity they would put it in Execution. *Francesco Maria*, who was ignorant of the Conspiracy, began to be suspicious from some Words unadvisedly spoken by *Renzo da Ceri* to a Drummer of the *Spaniards*, when he demanded of him in Raillery, "When will those *Spaniards* give us up your Duke for a Prisoner?" These Words made a deep Impression on *Francesco Maria*, and had given him Occasion to watch very diligently whether there were any treasonable Practices in his Army, till at last he was satisfied, from some Papers that were intercepted with *Lorenzo's* Carriages, that *Maldonato* was the Author of some perfidious Design.

THE Duke had hitherto kept the whole Affair secret, but now thought it not convenient to dissemble any longer; and therefore calling an Assembly of all the *Spanish* Foot, and standing on a raised Place in the Midst of them, he began with thanking them in most affectionate Expressions for the Services which they had with so much Readiness performed for his Sake, confessing that neither modern Times, nor antient Histories could afford an Instance of any Prince or General who stood under such great Obligations to Troops of War, as he knew himself indebted in to them, considering that though he had no Money, nor Means to assure them of any Reward, since if he had recovered his whole State, he would still be but a petty Sovereign, had never done them any Kindness, was not of the same Nation, nor had ever served with them in the Field, they had yet been so readily disposed to follow him against a Prince of such Grandeur and Reputation, not allured by any Hopes of Prey, for they knew they were to be conducted into a
 poor

A. D. 1517. poor and barren Country: That for these Services he had no Way to testify his Acknowledgements but by sincere and hearty Professions of Good-will and Affection, but that he was highly pleased and rejoiced that they had acquired such wonderful Renown not only through all *Italy*, but through every Region of *Europe*, every one extolling to the Skies their uncommon Fidelity and Valour, that being very few in Number, without Money, without Artillery, without any of the necessary Provisions of War, they had so often made an Army turn their Backs, which was most abundantly supplied with Money and all other Things, and was composed of so many warlike Nations, and had manfully resisted the Power of a very great Pontiff and of the State of the *Florentines*, in Conjunction with the Name and Authority of the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, despising the Orders of their own Sovereigns that they might maintain the Faith and the Fame of military Men: That as these Considerations gave him inconceivable Pleasure for the Glory of their Name, so on the contrary whatever had a Tendency

dency to obscure so great a Lustre, affected him with incredible Grief: that it was with sore Unwillingness and inestimable Sorrow of Mind that he was induced to lay open some Matters which would constrain him to offend some of them, to each of whom he had before resolved to dedicate his humble Service in particular during his Life: But, however, that the Disorder which was begun might not increase through his Silence, and that the Malignity of some Few might not cast a Blemish on so great a Glory acquired by that Army, and it being also more fit and reasonable that he should suffer himself to be influenced by his Regard to the Honour of them all rather than by his Deference to a Few, he was obliged to acquaint them that there were in that Army four Persons that were plotting to betray the Glory and Safety of the whole Army; of his own he made no Mention nor Complaint, because he had met with so many Disasters, and been so bitterly persecuted by Fortune without his Fault, that he sometimes wished to die rather than live; but his Obligations to them, and his unbounded Love,

A. D. 1517. Love, which they had so richly deserved, would not suffer him to conceal from them that Colonel *Maldonato*, who should have had more Regard to the common Safety and Honour; Captain *Suares*, who, to give a Beginning to this atrocious Project, feigned himself sick that he might be taken by the Enemies in *Romagna*; and two other Captains, had, in pursuance of their villainous and wicked Counsels, promised to betray them to *Lorenzo de' Medici*: That this Design had been interrupted by his Vigilance, which rendering them secure, he was not willing before this present to discover so great a Crime, but not thinking fit to expose himself and all the rest any longer to so great a Danger, he had now revealed to them what he had known long before: The Truth of these Things appeared from authentic Letters found among the intercepted Papers of *Lorenzo*, it was confirmed also by many apparent Signs and Circumstances, all which he would lay before them, that they might be enabled to judge of so horrid a Villainy, and after hearing the Charge, and what the Accused had to say in their own Defence, they might

THE WARS IN ITALY. 61

might come to such a Resolution as they ^{A. D.} should think most conformable to Justice, ^{1517.} and to the Honour and Advantage of the Army.

WHEN he had ended his Speech he ordered the Letters to be read, and all the Circumstances to be laid open, which being heard by the whole Assembly with the utmost Attention, it could not be doubted but that *Maldonato*, *Suares*, and the other two Captains would by the common Judgment, without hearkening to any Pleadings, be condemned to die; and the Sentence was immediately executed by making them pass between Files of Pikes; ^{*Maldonato, &c. executed.*} and having by this Punishment, as they said, purged the Army from all Malignity, they pursued their March towards *Perugia*. Into this City had before entered *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, who had marched ^{*Duke of Urbino invades Tuscany.*} from *Pesaro* on the first Intelligence of the Enemy's Design, and put himself in a Posture of Defence, having armed many of his Friends, and introduced into the Place a Multitude of the Inhabitants of the Territory and the neighbouring Places.

The

A. D. 1517. The Legate also had ordered to his Assistance *Camillo Orfino* his Son-in-law, an Officer of the *Florentines*, with the Men at Arms under his Command, and Two Hundred and Fifty light Horse. These Forces, it was believed, were sufficient to sustain the Attacks of the Enemy, especially since many Preparations had been also made to obstruct their Progress, for *Vittello* with his Regiment of Men at Arms was marched to *Citta di Castello*, as was also *Sise* with the *French* Lances, which since the Establishment of the Confederacy between the Pontiff and the King were no longer suspected; and *Lorenzo de' Medici*, who being cured of his Wound was lately come from *Ancona* to *Pesaro*, was gone Post to *Florence* to make the necessary Provisions for the Preservation of that State, and of the neighbouring Cities; and it was resolved that the Legate with the rest of the Army, in order to oblige *Francesco Maria* to abandon his Enterprize on *Tuscany*, should enter the Dutchy of *Urbino*, which had no other Defence than the Inhabitants of the Towns.

FRANCESCO

A. D.

1527.

FRANCESCO MARIA approached *Perugia* not without Hopes of some Intelligence, and indeed it happened that *Gian Pagolo* riding through the City was attacked in the Middle of the Street by an Inhabitant of the Place, who missing his Blow was immediately cut to Pieces by the Course of *Pagolo's* Attendants, and in the Tumult he caused some others of those whom he suspected to be killed. Thus having escaped from Snares he seemed to be free from all Danger, for the Enemy, who had now lain several Days before *Perugia*, were not strong enough to make an Attempt upon it; and yet, when the Pontiff least expected it, he entered into an Agreement with the hostile Army, alleging, in his Justification, that the People of *Perugia*, whom it was not in his Power to resist, would no longer suffer the Damages which were done their Country. By this Agreement *Gian Pagolo* was to pay that Army Ten Thousand Ducats, to grant them Provisions for four Days, and not to bear Arms against *Francesco Maria* during that War, and the Enemy was immediately

Agrees
with *Gian
Pagolo.*

A. D. diately to quit the *Perugian*. The Pope
 1517. was much concerned at this Transaction,
 and took it very ill, for it confirmed him
 in the Opinion he had conceived of *Gian*
Pagolo from the very Beginning of the
 War, when he marched so very slowly
 with the promised Auxiliaries to the Army,
 that, out of a Jealousy of the Power of
Lorenzo, he was desirous that *Francesco*
Maria should continue in Possession of the
 Dutchy of *Urbino*. To this Consideration
 might be added that, while *Pagolo* stayed
 in the Camp with *Lorenzo*, he had been
 discontented that *Renzo* and *Vitello* had
 greater Authority than himself. The Me-
 mory of these Things was, perhaps, in a
 great measure the Cause of his future
 Calamities.

THE Duke, after this Agreement with
 the *Perugians*, directed his March towards
Citta di Castello, where after some Ex-
 cursions, with a Design to enter the *Flo-*
rentine Dominions on the Side of *Borgo a*
San Sepolcro, the Danger of his own State
 induced him to take another Resolution.
 For the Legate *Bibbiena* having newly
 listed

THE WARS IN ITALY.

65

listed great Numbers of *Italian* Foot, and following the Resolution taken at *Pesaro*,
 had with the rest of the Army approached *Fossombrone*, and planting his Batteries
 against it took it on the third Day, and plundered it. After this he proceeded to
 besiege *Pergola*, where on the second Day he was joined by Count *Potenza* with Four
 Hundred *Spanish* Lances sent by the King of *Spain* to the Pope's Assistance. There
 was not a Soldier in *Pergola*, but only a *Spanish* Captain with a Multitude of Pea-
 sants, who under a Terror began to treat of surrendering; but while they were
 treating, the Captain who stood upon the Wall having been wounded in the Face,
 the Soldiers gave the Assault without any regular Order or Command of their Offi-
 cers, and took the Town by Force. From *Pergola* it was designed to march and lay
 Siege to *Cagli*, but Advice being received that *Francesco Maria*, being informed of
 the Loss of *Fossombrone*, was returning with great Speed into that State, it was re-
 solved to retire. Wherefore on the same Night that the Legate received that No-
 tice he decamped from *Pergola*, and ar-

A. D.

1517.

Drives the
Legate
out of his
Dutchy.

VOL. VII.

E

rived

A. D. 1517. rived at *Montefione*, and had begun to pitch his Tents with a Design to lodge there that Night, when having fresh Intelligence that the Speed of the Enemy had been greater than had been imagined, and that they had dispatched away before the rest a Thousand Horse, each of whom had a Foot Soldier mounted behind him, in order to oblige them to march more slowly, that their Army might have Time to come up with them, they proceeded seven Miles forward to a Place called *il Bosco*, from whence the next Morning they departed before Day, and arrived in the Evening at *Fano*, having the Cavalry of the Enemy just at their Backs, so that if they had delayed to retire but four Hours longer, their Flight would have been difficult, or a Battle unavoidable.

BUT the Affairs of the Pope at this Juncture went on with no smoother a Current in other Transactions than in the Toils and Dangers of War, since he was in imminent Danger of his Life. For *Alfonso* Cardinal of *Siena* was highly provoked that the Pontiff, unmindful of the Fatigues

THE WARS IN ITALY. 67

Fatigues and Dangers that *Pandolfo Pe-* A. D.
1517.
trucci his Father had undergone for re-
storing him and his Brothers to the State ^{Plot}
of *Florence*, and of the Efforts used by ^{against the}
himself, and in Conjunction with the other ^{Pope's}
young Cardinals, in the Conclave for his ^{Life.}
Assumption to the Pontificate, had, in Re-
compense for such great Benefits, caused
Borgheze his Brother and himself to be
driven out of *Siena*, whence being de-
prived of his patrimonial Estate he was
unable to support with his wonted Splendor
the Dignity of the Cardinalship. Burning
therefore with Hatred, and almost reduced
to Despair, he had formed a Design,
prompted by his youthful Heat of Blood,
to give him a mortal Blow with his own
Hand; but being restrained more by the
Danger and Difficulty than by the Heinous-
ness of the Fact, and the inconceivable
Offence it must give to all Christians for a
Cardinal with his own Hands to murder a
Pope, he had turned all his Thoughts
upon sending him out of the World by
Poison with the Assistance of *Battista de*
Vercelli, a famous Surgeon and his inti-
mate Friend. This Resolution, if so mad

A. D.

1517.

a Piece of Villainy deserves that Name, was to have been executed by the following Means: The Surgeon, as the only Way to introduce himself, was to exert his utmost in boasting his consummate Skill, that so the Pope, who, on account of an old *Fistula in Ano*, often used the Help of Men of his Profession, conceiving an Opinion of his Abilities, might send for him, and commit himself to his Care. But the Impatience of *Alfonso* threw many Difficulties in this Way of Proceeding; for while the Affair was protracted to some Length, the Cardinal, not knowing how to contain himself from launching out publicly into loud Complaints of the Pope's Ingratitude, rendered himself more and more obnoxious, and fell under a Suspicion that he was devising some Mischief against the State, till at length he was in a manner constrained for his own Security to depart from *Rome*, but left *Antonio Nino* his Secretary in that City. As there was a constant Intercourse maintained between him and his Secretary by Letters, Pope *Leo* discovered by some of them which were intercepted that a Plot was in Agitation

THE WARS IN ITALY.

69

A. D.
1517

tation against his Life. Wherefore he invited *Alfonso* to *Rome* under a Pretence that he designed to provide some Redress for his Affairs, and granted him a Pass, and with his own Mouth gave his Word of Honour to the *Spanish* Ambassador that he would not hurt him. Under this Security, though conscious of so great a Villainy, *Alfonso* imprudently appeared before the Pope, where he and *Bandinello* Cardinal de' *Sauli*, a *Genoese*, and who had also been a Favourer of the Promotion of *Leo* to the Pontificate, but was so intimate with the Cardinal of *Siena* that he was thought privy to the whole Affair, were ordered into Custody by the Pope in the same Presence Chamber, from whence they were committed Prisoners to the Castle of *Sant' Angelo*. Immediate Orders were also given for imprisoning *Battista da Vercelli* the Surgeon, who was then practising his Art in *Florence*, and sending him without Delay to *Rome*. The *Spanish* Ambassador used his Endeavours by the most ardent Complaints and Protests to have *Alfonso* set at Liberty, alledging that the Pope's Word given to him as he was the Am-

A. D. ^{1517.} *bassador of the King of Spain* was the same as if he had given it to the King himself. But the Pontiff answered that no Pass how ample soever, and full of strong and special Clauses, was ever intended for a Security in a Crime that affected the Life of the Pope, unless it had been nominally specified in it: That there was the same Exemption in the Case of Poisoning, which was so greatly repugnant to divine and human Laws, and to the common Sentiments of Mankind, that it had Need of a particular and precise Expression. The Pope appointed in Chief for their Examination *Mario Perusco*, a *Roman*, an Attorney of the Exchequer, by whom being examined with Rigour they confessed the Plot as devised by *Alfonso* with the Privy of *Bandinello*. This Confession was confirmed by *Battista da Vercelli*, and by *Pocointesta da Bagnacavallo*, who had long been Captain of the Guard stationed in the Square of *Siena*, under *Pandolfo* the Father, and *Borghese* the Brother of the Cardinal; which two Criminals were publicly quartered. But after this Confession in the next Consistory there

there was apprehended and sent also to the ^{A. D. 1517.} said Castle *Rafaello Riario*, Cardinal of *San Giorgia*, and Chamberlain of the Apostolic See, who for his Riches, the Magnificence of his Court, and the long Time he had been in that high Station, was without Doubt the principal Cardinal of the College. He confessed that the Plot had never been communicated to him, but that the Cardinal of *Siena*, in his Complaints and Menaces against the Pope, had several Times thrown out Speeches by which he might have understood that he had it in his Thoughts, whenever he had an Opportunity, to do some Violence to the Person of his Holiness.

THE Pope after this in another Consistory, in which the Cardinals, not accustomed to be violated, sat under great Pope Dejection and Terror, complained of the ^{complaints in Con-} barbarous and wicked Conspiracy against his Life by those who by their high Dignity and Station, as principal Members of the Apostolic See, were above all others obliged to defend it. He pathetically lamented his Misfortune, and that it had

A. D.

1517.

availed him nothing that he had been, and continued to be, kind and beneficent to every one, and even to a Degree that many had blamed him for it : Adding that there were yet other Cardinals concerned in the Guilt, to whom, if they freely confessed their Fault before the Consistory was dismissed, he was ready to shew Mercy, and to pardon them ; but after that Consistory was ended he would use all the Severity of Justice against every one who should be found an Accomplice in so great a Crime. On these Words *Adriano* Cardinal of *Corneto*, and *Francesco Soderini* Cardinal of *Volterra*, kneeling before the Seat of the Pontiff, said that the Cardinal of *Siena* had made use of the same Expressions to them which he had used to the Cardinal of *San Giorgio*.

THE Examinations being finished and published in Consistory, *Alfonso* and *Bandinello* were by Sentence given in a public Consistory deprived of the Dignity of the Cardinalship, degraded, and delivered over to the Secular Court. *Alfonso* the next

THE WARS IN ITALY.

73

next Night was secretly strangled in Prison, ^{A. D.} but the Punishment of *Bandinello* was by ^{1517.} the Pope's Grace changed into perpetual ^{Cardinal} Imprisonment, though not long after ^{Petrucci} the ^{strangled.} Pontiff not only freed him out of Prison, but on the Payment of a certain Sum of Money restored him to the Cardinalship, even though he had juster Reason to be angry with him, because he had constantly participated of his Favours and Benefits, and had no other Cause for his Disaffection than his great Intimacy with the Cardinal of *Siena*, and a Resentment that the Cardinal *de' Medici* should be preferred before him in a Competition for certain Benefices. There were not wanting, however, some, perhaps malignant, Interpreters, who were of Opinion that before he was out of Custody the Pope had ordered a Potion to be given him of that Kind of Poison which does not kill suddenly, but wastes away in Process of Time the Life of the Patient. With the Cardinal of *San Giorgio*, the Pontiff having a Respect for his Age, Authority, and the great Friendship that had long subsisted between them before his Pontificate, dealt more gently because his

Offence

4 D. Offence was less, though the Laws made
 1537. and interpreted by Princes for the Security
 of their States intend that in the Crime of
 High Treason the Punishment of Death
 should be inflicted not only on the Plotter,
 but on whoever is privy or any Way con-
 senting to a Conspiracy against the State,
 and much more when the Life of the
 Prince is concerned. Wherefore though,
 for maintaining the Authority of Severity
 in the same Sentence, he was deprived of
 the Cardinalship, he was almost as soon,
 on obliging himself to pay a large Sum of
 Money, restored by an Act of Grace, ex-
 cept to his active and passive Vote, in which
 also within a Year he was reinstated.
Adriano and *Volterra* were not molested,
 except that they privately paid a certain
 Sum of Money; but neither of them be-
 lieving that they could stay in *Rome* with
 Security or with convenient Dignity, *Vol-*
terra with the Pope's Leave retired to *Fon-*
di, where he lived under the Protection
 of *Prospero Colonna* till *Leo's* Death; and
 as for *Adriano*, he left *Rome* in private,
 but, whatever became of him, he was
 never,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

75

never, as far as we know, found nor seen
in any Place afterwards.

A. D.

1517.

THIS melancholy Event obliged the Pope to think on a Creation of new Cardinals, since he was sensible that almost the whole College, by the Punishment of their Brethren, and for other Reasons, were greatly disaffected to him: But in this Transaction he proceeded so immoderately that he declared in one Morning in Consistory, the College consenting out of Fear, and not of free Will, no fewer than One and Thirty Cardinals; in which numerous Promotion he found Means to answer several Ends, and to chuse out of all Ranks and Qualities; for he promoted two of his Sister's Sons, and some of those who had before and since his Pontificate been devoted to his Service, and acceptable to the Cardinal *de' Medici* and himself on several Accounts, but were in no other Respect capable of so great a Dignity. He satisfied also, by creating so many Cardinals, the Desires of great Princes, in advancing them at their Recommendation. Many of them he created
for

A Promo-
tion of
Cardinals.

A. D. for Money, finding himself exhausted and
1517. in pressing Necessity; some of them were
in great Reputation for their Learning, and
Three were the Generals, or Superiors of
the Orders of *St. Austin*, *St. Dominic*, and
St. Francis, and, what is very rare in one
and the same Promotion, two of the Fa-
mily of *Trivulzi*, to which he was induced
because one of them was his Chamberlain,
and from a Desire to satisfy *Gianjacopo*,
and the other was in Repute for his Learn-
ing, which was assisted with a Sum of
Money. But what occasioned greater
Admiration was the Promotion of *Fran-*
ciotto Orsino and *Pompeo Colonna*, and five
other *Romans* of the principal Families that
followed this or that Faction, in which
he took his Measures contrary to the Re-
solutions of his Predecessor, but esteemed
imprudent, and not very fortunate in the
Event to his Friends and Family. For
the Greatness of the *Roman* Barons being
constantly attended with the Depression
and Disquietude of the Pontiffs, *Julius*, on
a Failure of the antient Cardinals of those
Families which *Alexander VI.* had bitterly
persecuted that he might deprive them of
their

THE WARS IN ITALY. 77

their States, had never consented to re-^{A. D.}
place them out of the same Stock; but ^{1517.}

Leo did the contrary, and the more immoderately because it could not be said that he was induced by personal Merit, for *Franciotto* was promoted from the Profession of Arms to the Dignity of the Cardinalship, and against *Pompeo* it might be justly objected that, though he were a Bishop, he had taken Occasion from the Sickneſs of Pope *Julius* to excite the Roman People to an Infurrection against the sacerdotal Government, for which Reason that Pontiff had deprived him of the episcopal Dignity.

IN the mean time *Francesco Maria*,^{Motions}
who after the Retreat, or rather Flight of ^{of the}
the Enemy, had never been able to bring ^{Duke of}
them to an Engagement, being at the ^{Urbino:}
Head of a very potent Army, for on the Report that he met with no Resistance in the Field, he had a continual Accession of fresh Troops allured by the Hopes of Plunder, entered the *Marca*, where *Fabriziano* and many other Towns compounded with him for Contributions in Money
to

A. D. 1517. to redeem themselves from Plunder and the Ravaging of their Territories; some other Towns were sacked, and amongst them the City of *Iesi* while the Inhabitants were treating of a Composition. After this the Duke with his Army approached *Ancona*, for the Defence of which City the Legate had sent some Troops; here he spent several Days to the great Detriment of his Affairs, because of the Loss of Time, not in fighting, but in treating of an Agreement with the *Anconitans*, who at last to save their Harvest, which was just ripe, paid him Eight Thousand Ducats, not transgressing in other Respects their accustomed Obedience to the Church. He then made an Attack on the City of *Osimo* with little Success, and at length sat down before the Town of *Corinaldo*, in which were Two Hundred foreign Foot, who in Conjunction with the Townsmen made so gallant a Defence, that after a Siege of two and twenty Days, despairing of Conquest, he decamped and marched off with great Diminution of the Terror of that Army, which had not taken one Town of those that had refused to make a Composition.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

79

position. This ill Success was not owing A. D.
1517.
to the Unskilfulness of the Generals, or
to the Cowardice of the Soldiers, but purely
to the Want of Cannon, of which they
had very few, and those but small Pieces,
and they were almost destitute of Powder.
It had, however, been found necessary to
give a voluntary Demonstration of their Con-
stancy and Valour to those Towns which
would not submit to them, because the
Generals of the Ecclesiastical Army, the Cautious
Conduct
of the Ec-
clesiastic
Army.
Chief of whom was the Count of *Potenza*,
though they had sent Troops to ravage the
Country home to the Walls of *Urbino*,
and *Sise*, being returned from *Citta di Cas-*
tello into *Romagna* had afterwards entered
into *Monte Feltro*, and taken by Force
Secchiano and some other small Towns,
were all assembled and encamped five
Miles from *Pesaro*, with a Resolution not
to succour any Place, and to make no
Motion, unless it should be necessary in
order to retreat. For if their Measures
had succeeded so unhappily when they
were so much superior in Force, they
could not expect that now, when they
found themselves so greatly inferior in In-
fantry,

A. D.
1517.

fantry, the Troops would have the Boldness so much as to endure the Report of the Approach of the Enemy. In this Resolution they acted in Conformity to the Will of the Pontiff, and were confirmed in it by their Hopes of the Arrival of Six Thousand *Swiss*, whom the Pope, following the Advice of the King of *France*, had sent Orders to enlist. For that King, after the Confederacy was made, was desirous that the Pope should get the Victory, though he entertained the same Suspensions of him that he had before, his Jealousy being kept alive by the Accounts which were given him by *Galeazzo Visconti* and *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, the First of whom being restored from Exile to his Country, and the other, because he did not think himself sufficiently recompensed for his Services by the Emperor, had entered themselves, on honourable Conditions, into the King's Pay, and had related that the Pope had taken great Pains to set the Emperor and the *Swiss* against him. But the King was much more concerned at the Pontiff's privately engaging in a new Confederacy with the Emperor and the Kings of

of *Spain* and *England*, which though it *A. D.*
were lawful for him to do, because it was *1517.*
only defensive, yet gave him no little
Disturbance, and he was desirous that the
Pope should be delivered from the War
for Fear lest, if he found him too back-
ward in his Assistance, he should enter
into a stricter Alliance with the said Princes;
besides he began to be jealous and uneasy
at the Prosperity of that Army, the
Strength of which consisted in *Spanish* and
German Infantry. Wherefore he not only
advised the Pope to provide himself with
Swiss Foot, but offered to send him a fresh
Supply of Three Hundred Lances under
Thomas de Foix, Lord of *l'Escud*, and Bro-
ther of *Odet*, intimating to him that be-
sides the Valour and Reputation of the
Person he would be instrumental for
causing *Francesco Maria* to be deserted by
the *Gascons*, with whom those Brothers *de*
Foix, who were by Birth of the noblest
Blood in *Gascony*, had a great Authority.
The Pope had accepted that Offer, but
with great Suspense of Mind, for he stood
in Doubt, as he did before, of the King's
Intentions, of which his Suspicions had
Vol. VII. F been

THE WARS IN ITALY.

83

State of *Urbino*, to protect his People in gathering in their Harvest, whence, being mightily desirous, as he had always been, of making himself Master of *Pesaro*, in which was the Count of *Potenza* with his Troops, he led his Army before the Walls of that City, and put some small Ships to Sea to cut them short of Provisions; but on the other Side the People at *Rimini* fitted out Sixteen Vessels, consisting of Barks, Brigantines, and other small Craft, and as soon as they were ready sent them as a Convoy to some Barks bound for *Pesaro* with Provisions, where encountering with the Fleet of *Francesco Maria*, they sunk the Admiral, and took all the rest, on which the Duke despairing of the Conquest of *Pesaro* marched off. In the meantime *L'Escud* put himself on his March with the Three Hundred Lances, but the *Swiss* were delayed, because the Cantons refused to grant any Troops to the Pope before they were paid their old Arrears; in which Disposition they continuing inflexible, and the Pontiff on account of his vast Expences unable to satisfy them, his Agents, after wasting many Days in vain

F 2

Sollicitations,

A. D.

1517.

A. D.

1517.

Sollicitations, inlisted without a public Decree Two Thousand private Men of that Nation, and Four Thousand *Germans* and *Grisons*. These Troops being at last arrived at *Rimini*, and quartered in the Suburbs, which are divided by the River from the rest of the City, and surrounded by a Wall, *Francesco Maria* entered by Night under the Arches of that beautiful Marble Bridge which joins the Suburbs to the City, but could not pass the River because it was swollen by the Inundation of the Sea. There was a sharp Conflict between his Troops and the Foot quartered in the Suburbs, in which *Gaspari*, Captain of the Pope's Guards, who had conducted them thither, was killed; but the Loss on the Duke's Side was greater, *Balastichino* and *Vinea*, Spanish Captains, were killed, *Federigo da Bozzolo* was wounded, and *Francesco Maria* received a Musket Shot in his Cuirass. After this the Army directed its March towards *Tuscany*, guided rather by Necessity than Hope, for in a State so much exhausted so great a Body of Forces could not expect to find Sustenance. In *Tuscany* the Duke rested

Action at
Rimini.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

83

rested some Days between the Pieve of *Santo Stefano, Borgo a San Sepolcro* and *Angbiara*, Towns of the *Florentines*, and taking Possession of *Montedoglio*, a weak Place, and of small Importance, he gave a very long Assault to *Angbiara*, a Town better defended by the Valour and Loyalty of the Inhabitants than by the Strength of its Walls or any other Fortification. Being repulsed at *Angbiara* he retired under the *Appennine*, and encamped between *Borgo* and *Citta di Castello*, where he received four Pieces of Artillery from *Mercatello*, and posted himself half a Mile from *Borgo* on the Road to *Urbino*, uncertain how to proceed; for the Enemy having marched behind him into *Tuscany*, a good Body of *Italian* Soldiers had taken Possession of *Borgo*; in *Citta di Castello* was *Vitello* with another Body of Troops, and *Angbiara*, the Pieve of *Santo Stefano*, and the other neighbouring Towns were taken up by the *German, Corsican, Grison* and *Swiss* Infantry. There came also, though later, *Lorenzo de' Medici* from *Florence* to *Borgo*, where *Francesco Maria* remained many Days without Action, in which Situation

A. D.

1517.

he began at length to be in great Distress for Provisions, nor did he see any present Hopes of doing any thing to good Effect, since his Army, which was obliged to subsist on Prey and Rapine, was become as much dreaded by Friends as Enemies, and he himself had but a melancholy Prospect of his Affairs; and the Troops that followed him receiving no Pay, and having no Hopes of subsisting by Plunder much longer, because they were not provided with Artillery and Ammunition proper for forcing of Towns, and while they were labouring also under a Want of Provisions seeing their Enemies by the Favour and Countenance of Princes increased in Strength and Reputation, began to be tired with the Length of the War, having no Room to hope for a happy Issue, either by a speedy Battle, or by protracting the War to a greater Length of Time.

THE Pope on the other Side was in as bad a Condition, exhausted of Money, little able of himself to provide Necessaries in his Camp, and as distrustful as ever of the Faith of Kings, especially of the King
of

of *France*, because he was very backward in furnishing the Subsidy of Money due to him by the Convention, and *L'Escud*, who had by the Pope's Direction stopped in *Romagna*, refused to send Part of his Troops into *Tuscany*, declaring that he would not divide his Forces. Wherefore, not only before the Armies had passed the *Appennine*, but much more after Affairs had been reduced to the present Situation, there had been several Conferences about an Accommodation held between the Legate and *Francesco Maria* in Conjunction with his Generals, *L'Escud*, and *Don Hugo de Moncada*, Viceroy of *Sicily*, who had Orders from the Catholic King for that Purpose, assisting at them; but nothing had hitherto succeeded on account of the hard Conditions proposed by *Francesco Maria*. At last the *Spanish* Foot, induced by the Difficulties which presented themselves, and at the Instances of *Don Hugo*, who came over to the Camp, and adding Menaces to Authority represented to them that it was the peremptory Will of the King of *Spain*, they inclined to an Agreement, to which *Francesco Maria*, though unwillingly,

A. D. 1517. lingly, consenting, and the Bishop of *Avellino*, commissioned by the Legate, acting as Proxy for the Pope, and the *Gascon* Foot, by the Mediation of *L'Escud*, acceding as Parties, it was concluded on the following Terms: That the Pope should pay the *Spanish* Infantry Forty-five Thousand Ducats, due, as they said, for four Months Arrears; and to the *Gascons*, and the *Germans* united with them, Sixty Thousand Ducats: That they should evacuate the State of the Church, of the *Florentines*, and of *Urbino* within eight Days; That *Francesco Maria* should within the said Term abandon all that he possessed, and be permitted to pass in Safety to *Mantoua*: That he should be at Liberty to take with him the Artillery, with all his Effects, and particularly the famous Library, which had been founded with so much Care and Cost by *Federigo* his maternal Grandfather, the most celebrated General of his Time, but among all his other excellent Qualities distinguished for his Patronage of Learning: That the Pontiff should absolve him from Censures, and grant his Pardon to all the Subjects of the

Agree-
ment be-
tween the
Pope and
Francesco
Maria.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

89

the State of *Urbino*, and to every Person who had opposed him in that War. While the Substance of these Articles was drawing up in a more ample Form in Writing, *Francesco Maria* insisted on inserting certain Words, importing that it was the *Spaniards* who obliged themselves to deliver up the State of *Urbino* to the Pope. This being refused by the *Spaniards* as contrary to their Honour, they fell at Variance, whence *Francesco Maria* suspecting that they would sell him to the Pope, withdrew on a sudden, with Part of the light Horse, and with the *Italian*, *Gascon* and *German* Foot to the *Pieues of Sestina*. The *Spaniards* as soon as the Agreement was fulfilled, and they had received the Money that was promised them, set out on their March for the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the Number of about Six Hundred Horse and Four Thousand Foot. The other Foot also went off, after they had received the Reward of their Perfidy, and only the *Italian* Foot, to whom nothing was given or promised, remained behind. Wherefore *Francesco Maria*, of whose Safety *L'Escud* seemed to take a particular

Care,

A. D.

1517.

A. D. 1517. Care, seeing himself abandoned by all embraced the Agreement as it had been first settled, and set out on his March thro' *Romagna* and the *Bolognese* to *Mantoua*, accompanied by *Federigo da Bozzolo* with an Hundred Horse and Six Hundred Foot.

Reflexions
on the
War.

THUS ended the War of the State of *Urbino*, after it had lasted eight Months with vast Expence and Disgrace to the Conquerors; for it cost the Pontiff Eight Hundred Thousand Ducats, the greater Part of which, through the Power which he had in their City, was expended by the Republic of *Florence*. And the Generals who had the chief Management of the Affair were universally charged with very great Cowardice, and very disorderly Conduct; and by some with malignant Intentions: For in the Beginning of the War, when the Forces of *Lorenzo* were very powerful, and those of the Enemy but weak, they never knew how to improve any Opportunity, either by open Valour, or provident Care and Industry. From such Beginnings, through the Loss of their Reputation, followed Confusion, and Disobedience

THE WARS IN ITALY.

91

obedience of the Army, which, in the Progress of the War, were attended with the Want of many Things necessary in a Camp, till at last when Fortune had a Mind to sport herself with their Blunders, she raised such a Multiplicity of Disorders, as translated the Seat of the War into such a Place that the Pontiff, who had discovered a Conspiracy against his Life, finding himself attacked in the Dominions of the Church, and sometimes under no small Apprehensions for the State of *Florence*, was necessitated to solicit by Intreaties, and by new Obligations, the Assistance of every Power, and yet had no other Way to free himself from his manifold Distresses but by paying with his own Money those Troops of the Enemy's Army, which had either been the Original of the War, or which had been first listed in his Service, and, after a Multitude of Extortions, had basely revolted against him.

TOWARDS the End of this Year the King of *Spain* failed, with a prosperous Voyage, to take Possession of his King-

King of
Spain en-
ters on his
King-
doms.
doms.

1517. *N. D.* doms, having obtained of the King of *France*, between whom and himself, each cloaking his inward Disposition, were mighty Professions of Friendship, a Pro-rogation for Six Months of the Payment of the first Hundred Thousand Ducats, which he was bound to give him by the last Convention made between them. The *Venetians* also anew confirmed for two Years their defensive League with the King of *France*, and while they were in close Alliance with that Prince they had but little Regard for the Friendship of all the rest, and carried their Neglect so far that they had not as yet sent to pay Obedience to the Pontiff, who was much blamed for sending *Altobello*, Bishop of *Pola*, Ambassador to *Venice*, as a Step unworthy of his Majesty.

1518. IN the following Year, 1518, *Italy* had the Happiness, unknown for many Years past, not to be sensible of the least Movement of War, and, what is more, the same pacific Disposition appeared in all the Christian Princes, between whom, at the Motion of the Pontiff, Consultations were held,

held, though more with specious Reason-
 ings than solid Counsels, about a general
 Expedition of all Christendom against *Selymus* the Sultan of the *Turks*, who had
 the Year before increased his Grandeur to
 such a Degree, that, considering his Power, Actions
 and no less his Ambition of Empire, together with his Valour and Fierceness,
 there was just Reason to fear that if the
 Christians did not prevent him by being
 the Aggressors, it would not be long be-
 fore he turned his victorious Arms against
 them. For *Selymus*, having learnt that
Bajazet his Father, who was now grown
 very old, designed to settle the Succession
 of the Empire on *Achomates* his eldest Son,
 rebelled against him, and constrained him
 by Force of Arms, and by bribing the Ja-
 nizaries, to resign the Throne to his Pos-
 session; and it was universally believed
 that, in order to be absolutely secure of
 him, he impiously procured his Death by
 Poison. After this he overthrew his Bro-
 ther in a Battle, and openly put him to
 Death, and exercised the like Cruelty on
Corcutus the youngest Brother of all, and
 not content with murdering, according to
 the

A. D.

1518.

of Sultan
Selymus.

A. D. 1518. the Custom of the *Ottomans*; his Nephews, and every one that remained of that Stock, was of such a cruel and unrelenting Temper that it is believed he had it sometimes in his Thoughts to destroy his only Son *Solyman*.

HAVING laid these Foundations he went on War after War, and having overcome and subdued the *Aladolites*, a fierce mountainous People, he proceeded with his Army into *Persia* against the *Sophy*, and coming to a Battle with him defeated him, and took the City of *Tauris* the Seat of that Empire, with the greater Part of *Persia*, which he was forced to abandon, not by the Valour of the Enemies, who doubting their Ability to resist his Army were retired into wild and mountainous Places, but for Want of Provisions because it had been a very barren Year. After his Return from that Expedition to *Constantinople* he punished many of his Soldiers for raising a Sedition, and spent some Months in recruiting his Army; then, pretending that his Design was to return and make a Conquest of *Persia*, he turned his Arms against

THE WARS IN ITALY.

95

against the Soldan of Syria and Egypt, a Prince not only of very antient Dignity, and highly revered by those of that Religion, but also very powerful by the Extent of his Dominions, his great Revenues, and the military Establishment of the *Mamaluks*, who by their Arms had kept Possession of that Empire with very great Reputation for these Three Hundred Years. For the Administration was in the Hands of Soldans, who ascended to the highest Station not by Succession but by Election, and to which none were exalted but Persons of known Valour, and who had passed through all the military Degrees to the Government of Provinces and Armies, and the Strength of their Military consisted not in mercenary and foreign Soldiers, but in chosen Men, who were taken when Children from the neighbouring Provinces, and having been bred up for many Years with a sparing Diet, inured to hard Labour, and continual Employment in Arms, in Riding, and in all the Exercises belonging to military Discipline, were afterwards enrolled in the Order of *Mamaluks*, which Honour descended not from Hand to Hand

A. D.
1518.

Account
of the
*Mama-
luks.*

A. D.

1518.

to the Sons of deceased *Mamaluks*, but to others, who in their Childhood were taken for Slaves, and had been instructed in the same Arts, and trained up in the same Discipline which had made Way by Degrees for their Predecessors. This Militia, in Number not above Sixteen or Eighteen Thousand, kept under very severe Subjection all the People of *Syria* and *Egypt*, who were not allowed to keep Arms, nor to ride Horses, and being Men of great Valour and Fierceness, and who made War on their own Account, because the Soldans were chosen out of their Number, and by themselves, and they were in Possession of the Honours, Profits, and Administration of that vastly plentiful and opulent Empire, had not only subdued many of the neighbouring Nations, and beaten the *Arabs*, but had several Wars with the *Turks*, in which they had been often victorious, but seldom or never overcome by them.

AGAINST this formidable Body it was that *Selymus* then moved with his Army, and after he had given them several Defeats

THE WARS IN ITALY.

97

feats in the open Field, in which the Soldan was killed, and then taken in Battle the other Soldan his Successor, whom he put to Death publicly with an ignominious Punishment, and made a vast Slaughter, and even in a manner extinguished the very Name of the *Mamaluks*, and taken Possession of *Cairo*, a very populous City, and the Residence of the Soldans, he made himself Master of all *Syria* and *Egypt* in a very short Space of Time; so that from this great and sudden Increase of Empire, and almost doubling his Revenues, besides a Removal of those Obstacles arising from the Emulation of such potent and reputable Neighbours, he was not without Reason become formidable to the Christians. And they had the juster Grounds for their Apprehensions, because with so great an Eminence of Power and Valour was joined an ardent Desire of Empire, and of transmitting a most glorious Name to Posterity by his Victories. In this Disposition he would frequently read, as it was reported, the Actions of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Julius Cæsar*, and wonderfully fret and torment himself that his Exploits were no

A. D.

1518.

Selymus
conquers
Egypt and
Syria.

A. D.
1518.

way comparable to the many Victories and Triumphs of those Heroes. And by his continual reviewing and putting in Order his Armies and Militia, building a vast Number of new Vessels, and making new Provisions of Things necessary for a War, it was apprehended that he had a Design to attack, as-foon as he was prepared, some said, the Island of *Rhodes*, the Bulwark of Christendom on the Eastern Parts, or, as others imagined, the Kingdom of *Hungary*, which was formerly dreaded by the *Turks* for the Fierceness of its Inhabitants, but was at present but in a weak Condition, being in the Hands of a King who was in his Minority, and governed by the Prelates and Barons of the Kingdom, who were divided among themselves. Others affirmed that his Designs were all bent upon *Italy*, which he was emboldened to attack from the Discord of the Princes, and his knowing how much it had been shattered by the long Wars, to which he was incited also by the Memory of his Grandfather *Mahomet*, who with much less Power, and with a small Fleet sent to the Kingdom of *Naples*, had by a sudden Attack made himself

THE WARS IN ITALY.

99

himself Master of the City of *Otranto*, and opened himself, if he had not been surprised by Death, a Door, and established himself in a Seat, from whence he might at all Times annoy the *Italians*.

A. D.

1518.

THE Pope, therefore, with the whole Court of *Rome*, terrified at such great Success, and in order to provide against so threatening a Danger, willing to shew his Readiness to have Recourse in the first Place to the divine Assistance, decreed throughout the City of *Rome* most devout Processions, on which *Leo* himself went barefooted. After this turning his Thoughts and Cares on human Helps and Means, he wrote Briefs to all the Christian Princes, admonishing them of so great a Danger, and exhorting them to lay aside their Divisions and Contentions, and to shew their Readiness to attend to the Defence of Religion and of the common Safety, which were continually exposed to very great Hazards if they did not all resolve, with united Hearts and Forces, to transfer the War into the *Turkish* Empire, and attack the Enemies in their own Dwellings. On

A. D.

1518.

Scheme
for attack-
ing the
Turkish
Empire.

this Affair, after examining many Opinions of military Men, and of Persons acquainted with the Countries, the Disposition of the Provinces, and of the Forces and Arms of that Empire, it was resolved that it was necessary to make very large Provisions of Money, by a voluntary Contribution of the Princes, and by a general Tax to be laid on all the People of Christendom: That *Cæsar*, attended by the Cavalry of the *Hungarians* and *Poles*, warlike Nations, and exercised in continual Wars against the *Turks*, and with an Army suitable to so great an Undertaking, consisting of *German* Horse and Foot, should fall down the *Danube* into *Bosnia*, antiently called *Myssa*, and from thence penetrate into *Thracia*, and advance to *Constantinople*, the Seat of the *Ottoman* Empire: That the King of *France* with all the Forces of his Kingdom, of the *Venetians*, and of the other Powers of *Italy*, accompanied by the *Swiss* Infantry, should transport himself from the Port of *Brindisi* to *Albania*, an easy and very short Passage, in order to attack

THE WARS IN ITALY. 101

attack *Greece*, a Country full of Christian Inhabitants, and, because of the Severity of the *Turkish* Government, very disposed to revolt: That the Kings of *Spain*, *Portugal* and *England* should join their Fleets at *Cartagena* and the neighbouring Ports, and with Two Hundred Sail, full of *Spanish* Foot and other Soldiers, direct their Course to the Streights of *Gallipoli*, and after they had made themselves Masters of the *Dardanells*, or Castles situated at the Mouth of the Streights of *Constantinople*, proceed and attack that Capital; and the Pope, with an Hundred Ships of War, should sail from *Ancona* on the same Voyage. With such Preparations covering both Land and Sea, and attacking in so many Quarters the State of the *Turks*, who lay the principal Stress of their Defence in the Field, there was Reason to hope, especially with the divine Assistance, that so pious a War would have a very happy Issue.

To set on Foot a Treaty for these Purposes, or at least to avoid the Imputation

of

A. D. 1518. of being wanting to the Duty of a Pontiff, Leo, after first sounding the Minds of the Princes, published in Consistory an universal Truce for Five Years between all the Christian Potentates, under the Penalty of most grievous Censures against any one who should contravene it. And that all Matters relating to so great an Undertaking, on which he was continually consulting with the Ambassadors of the Princes, might be accepted and seriously debated, he appointed Legates, as the Cardinal of *San Sisto* to *Cæsar*, the Cardinal of *Santa Maria in Portico* to the King of *France*, Cardinal *Egidio* to the King of *Spain*, and *Lorenzo* Cardinal *Campeggio* to the King of *England*, all Men of Authority or Experience in Affairs, and recommended either by the Fame of their Learning, or their Intimacy with the Pontiff. But though Negotiations for these Purposes were begun with great Expectations, and the universal Truce had been accepted by all, and every one with ostentatious and magnificent Speeches professed themselves ready in so just a Cause to engage with all their Forces against the *Turks*, if they had
the

THE WAR IN ITALY. 103

the Concurrence of the rest, yet as the Danger was by all accounted uncertain, and at a great Distance, and concerned the States of one more than those of the other, and as it was very difficult, and required a long Time to introduce so universal an Ardor and Union, private Interests and Conveniencies got the upper Hand so far that not only these Designs were never in a Forwardness to be put in Execution, but hardly ever came under Debate but in a slighting Manner, and as it were out of Ceremony, it being the Nature of Mankind that those Objects which at first Sight appear very dreadful to us become every Day less formidable, and make weaker Impressions, so that if the Terror be not renewed by fresh Incidents, they have a Tendency, in a long Process of Time, to lull us into a State of Security. And this Negligence of public and immoderate Concern for private Affairs was not long after confirmed by the Death of *Selymus*, who after a tedious and wasting Disorder, which suspended the Preparations of War, departed this Life, leaving that great Empire to his Son *Solyman*.

A. D.

1518.

Scheme abortive.

Death of *Selymus*.

A. D.
1518.

man, young in Years, and reputed of a milder Disposition, and not inclined to War, but his future Conduct demonstrated the contrary.

Lorenzo
marries
honour-
ably.

AT this Time there seemed to be an extraordinary Friendship and Harmony between the Pontiff and the King of *France*, for the King made a Match between *Lorenzo* the Pontiff's Nephew and *Magdalen* a young Lady of the noble House of *Boulogne**, with a yearly Revenue of Ten Thousand Crowns, Part of which was of the royal Bounty, and the rest her patrimonial Estate; and the King having a Son born, the Pontiff desired to stand Godfather. *Lorenzo* on this Occasion disposed himself to go and be joined in Matrimony to the new Spouse, and hastening his Departure went Post to the Court of *France*, where he was highly caressed and honoured by the King, with whom, by professing himself wholly devoted to his Service, and promising to follow his Fortune

* *Lorenzo* had by this Lady a Daughter called *Katherine*, who was afterwards by Pope *Clement VII.* married to *Henry* Successor to his Father *Francis* in the Throne of *France*, and was Mother of *Charles IX.*

Fortune in all Events, he greatly ingratiated himself. He brought with him to the King a Brief of the Pontiff, which granted him Leave to make what Use he pleased of the Money arising from the Tenth and the Crusades, till there was Occasion to spend it in a War against the *Turks*, on his promising to restore it at any Time when it should be necessary to employ it on the Purposes for which it had been repositied; wherefore Fifty Thousand Crowns of it were converted to *Lorenzo's* Use. The King also, who had hitherto dissembled his Dissatisfaction with the Pope for not performing the Promise which he had made him by Brief, of the Restitution of *Modena* and *Reggio* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, though the Term of Seven Months was expired, knowing that he could not give the Pontiff so much Dislike as by insisting on that Restitution, and paying, as it often happens, more Regard to those in higher Rank than to Inferiors, put the Brief of the Promise into the Hands of *Lorenzo*.

A. D.

1518.

Venetians
prolong
the Truce
with
Cæsar.

THE *Venetians* also much about the same Time, by the Mediation of the King of *France*, prolonged the Truce with *Cæsar* for Five Years, on Condition of paying him each of these Years Twenty Thousand Crowns, and that the Exiles who had followed *Cæsar* should receive a fourth Part of the yearly Revenue of the Estates which they had before enjoyed, by which Means their Share, according to the Rates, would be Five Thousand Crowns; and *Cæsar*, if they had given him a larger Sum, might perhaps have been induced to make a Peace. But a Truce was more acceptable to the King of *France*, because the *Venetians* not being as yet wholly secure would have the greater Reason to set a Value on his Friendship, and because *Cæsar* would have no Power with the Money which he would receive of them to stir up Innovations.

Peace and
League
between
the Kings
of *France*
and *Eng-*
land.

AND as there was a general Tendency on all Hands to a Peace the Differences also between the Kings of *France* and *England* were composed, and for the better Establishment

THE WARS IN ITALY.

107

Establishment of the Agreement it was confirmed by a new Contract of Affinity. A. D. 1518.

For the King of *England* engaged to give his only Daughter, to whom, in Default of other Children, the Succession to the Crown, ought, as it was expected, to fall, to the Dauphin, eldest Son to the King of *France*, with a Dowry of Four Hundred Thousand Ducats, both the Parties being of so tender an Age that infinite Accidents might happen before they were of Years sufficient for Consummation of Matrimony. A Defensive League was made between them, in which were nominated by the principal contracting Parties *Cæsar* and the King of *Spain*, in case they ratified within a certain Time. The King of *England* was obliged to restore *Tournay*, the Keeping of which was very expensive, and was to receive of *Francis* for the Money he had laid out Sixty Thousand Ducats in Hand, and to acknowledge the Receipt of Three Hundred Thousand more in Dowry with his Daughter-in-law, besides paying Three Hundred Thousand Ducats more within Twelve Years, engaging also to restore *Tournay*

A. D.

1518.

Tournay if the Peace and Affinity did not take Effect. On account of this League and Affinity Ambassadors were dispatched on both Sides to receive the Ratifications and Oaths, which Acts were performed with the greatest Solemnity and Ceremony in both Courts, and it was agreed that the two Kings should have an Interview between *Calais* and *Boulogne*; and not long after *Tournay* was restored.

Peace
confirmed
between
the Kings
of *France*
and *Spain*.

At the same Time the King of *France's* Daughter who was designed for the Nuptials of the King of *Spain* being deceased, the Peace was anew confirmed between them with the first Stipulation in which was promised the Marriage of the second Daughter of *France*. Both Kings celebrated this Convention with all the exterior Marks of Benevolence, and the King of *Spain*, who had before paid the Hundred Thousand Ducats in *Lions*, publicly wore the Order of *St. Michael* on the Day of that Saint's Festival, and the King of *France* on the Day dedicated to *St. Andrew* wore in public the Order of the Fleece.

IN

IN this peaceful Situation of Affairs in *Italy* and beyond the Mountains *Gian-Troubles* *jacopo da Trivulzi* alone was suffered to and Death of *Trivul-*
 enjoy no Rest, no Respect being paid to *zis.*
 his Age, now almost decrepit, nor to his military Conduct and Bravery, so often exerted in the Service of the House of *France*. For having to deal with the subtle Artifices of his Rivals, and the Malice of *Lautrech*, who opposed him in many Points, of which Contentions his own ambitious and restless Temper might perhaps in some measure be the Cause, he was fallen into Disgrace with the King, who suspected that he and his House, thro' the Interest of the *Guelf* Faction, and the Memory of antient Endearments, were become too much in Favour with the *Venetians*, who had constituted *Teodoro da Trivulzi* Commander of their Forces, and had lately listd into their Service *Renato* of the same Family. Wherefore *Ga-leazzo Visconti*, by the Death of *Fran-cesco Bernardino Visconti*, becoming Head of the *Ghibelline* Faction, the King had invested him with the Order of *St. Michael*,

A. D. *Michael*, and allowed him a Pension, in

1518.

order to set him up in Opposition to *Trivulzi* with the greater Authority, and his Majesty himself and *Lautrech* countenanced his Proceedings on all Occasions. This

Management could not pass without humbling and depressing *Trivulzi*, who was too impatient to dissemble, and by his frequent Complaints became every Day more hated and more suspected. But *Lautrech* and the rest who calumniated him with the King had the fairer Occasion given them by his making himself a free Burgher of *Switzerland*, as if he had intended to use the Assistance of the *Swiss* for supporting himself against the King, and perhaps aspired to greater Matters. To justify himself from these Calumnies, so old as he was, he took a Journey into *France*; but not only *Lautrech* as soon as he was departed, by the King's Orders, arrested and put under honourable Custody his Wife, and his Grandson by his only Son the Count of *Musocco* lately deceased, but he himself was so far from meeting with a favourable and honourable Reception from the King as usual, that

THE WARS IN ITALY. 111

that he was reproached by him with making himself a *Swiss*, and told that nothing restrained his Justice from punishing him according to his Deserts, but the Fame that was universally spread, though exaggerated beyond the Truth, of his Merits towards the Crown of *France*. He was necessitated therefore to retract what he had done *, and a few Days after following the Court he fell sick at *Chartres*, and departed the Stage of this World. He was a Person of universal Reputation, as had been confirmed by manifold Experience, for his great Knowledge in military Discipline, but was through the whole Course of his Life in Subjection to the Inconstancy of Fortune, who sometimes lifted him up to the Top of Prosperity, at other Times depressed him under a Load of Misfortunes, so that nothing could be more properly said of him than what he caused to be inscribed on his Monument, "*Within this Grave lies at Rest Gianjacopo da Trivulzi, who before never knew Rest.*"

IN this same Year *Cæsar*, being desirous to settle the Succession of the *Roman Empire*

* To renounce his *Swiss* Burghership.

A. D. 1518. *pire* after his Death upon one of his Grand-
sons, treated with the Electors about
chusing one of them King of the *Romans*,
which Dignity whoever has obtained im-
mediately on the Death of the Emperor
succeeds to the Empire without another
Election or Confirmation. And because
there is no arriving at that Dignity before
he who has been chosen to the Empire has
obtained the Imperial Crown, he solicited
the Pontiff to make a new Precedent, and
cause him to be crowned in *Germany* by
the Hands of some Cardinals constituted
Apostolical Legates for that Purpose. And
though *Cæsar* had at first desired that this
Dignity should be conferred on his Grand-
son *Ferdinand*, because he thought it con-
venient that, since the elder Brother was
arrived at such a Pitch of Greatness, and
Master of so many States, the other should
support himself with that Degree, and
judged that in order to maintain his
House in the greater Splendor, and to
provide against any ill Accidents that might
befal the Person of the elder Brother, it
were better to have two great Persons in
his Family than one alone, yet being stimu-
lated

THE WARS IN ITALY. 113

lated to the contrary by his Confidants and the Cardinal of *Sion*, and by all those who hated or dreaded the Power of *France*, he rejected his first Resolution, and turned all his Endeavours to procure the Promotion of the King of *Spain* to that Dignity. These Counsellors demonstrated to him that it would be much more conducive to the Exaltation of the House of *Austria* that the whole Power should be accumulated on one Person, for by dividing it into Parts they would be render'd less able to accomplish their Designs: That the Greatness of *Charles* was built on such ample and solid Foundations that by adding to it the Imperial Dignity it was to be hoped that all *Italy* and a great Part of Christendom might be reduced into one Monarchy; an Event, which would not only conduce to the Greatness of his Descendants, but also to the Quiet of their Subjects, and, with Regard to the Affairs of the Infidels, to the Benefit of the whole Christian Commonwealth; and that it was his Business and Duty to study the Augmentation and Exaltation of the Imperial Dignity, which had been so many Years vested in his Person.

A. D.
1518.
Caesar solicitous to procure the Empire for his Grandson *Charles*.

A. D.
1518.

son and in the Family of *Austria*, and which had hitherto, for Want of Power in him and his Predecessors, been greater in Name and Title than in Substance and Effect; and there were no Hopes that it would ever raise itself, or be restored to its antient Splendor but by transferring it on the Person of *Charles*, and uniting it with his Power: That an Opportunity for it offered itself to him from the Order and Course of Nature and Fortune, which it was his Duty not to hinder but rather to promote: That it appeared by the Records of the antient Emperors that *Cæsar Augustus* and many of his Successors, on a Failure of Children or Descendants of the same Race, being apprehensive that the Dignity which resided in their Persons would be subverted or diminished, had searched out Men remote from their Kindred, or even no way belonging to them, and made them their Successors by means of Adoption: That there was the modern Example of the Catholic King, who loved *Ferdinand* as his own Son, having bred him under his continual Care at his own Court, and had not so much as ever

THE WARS IN ITALY. 115

ever seen *Charles*; nay, in his last Years, A. D. 1518.
found from him but little Obedience to
his Precepts; yet he had no Com-
passion on the Poverty of him whom he
loved as his Son, nor bequeathed him any
Share of those many States which he pos-
sessed, not even of those which he had
himself acquired, and were consequently
in his own Disposal, but left all to one
whom he hardly knew but as a Stranger.
They put *Cæsar* in Mind also that the
same King had always advised him to ac-
quire new States for *Ferdinand*, but to
leave the Imperial Dignity to *Charles*; and
now it appeared that the more to ag-
grandize his Successor, he had, with a
Resolution possibly condemned by many,
and perhaps unjust, but moved by no other
Reason than this, deprived his own Fa-
mily of so noble and illustrious a Kingdom
as *Aragon*, and consented, contrary to the
Desire of most People, that the Name of
his House should be extinguished and an-
nihilated.

THESE Sollicitations of *Cæsar* were Opposed
with all possible Art and Industry opposed ^{by the}
by the King of *France*, who was ex-*France*.

A. D.

1518

tremely concerned that to so many Kingdoms and States of the King of *Spain* should be added the Imperial Dignity, which would by that Means resume its antient Vigour and become so powerful as to be formidable to all the World. Wherefore he endeavoured to defeat the Design by treating privately with the Electors, and made Instances to the Pontiff to refuse making a new Precedent by sending the Crown to *Cæsar*; and he had sent Ambassadors to the *Venetians* to solicit their Concurrence in the Opposition, admonishing both them and the Pontiff of the Danger which would arise from so exorbitant a Greatness. But a great Part of the Electors were gained over to *Cæsar*, and they were already in a manner secure of the Money which was promised them for this Election by the King of *Spain*, who had for that Purpose sent Two Hundred Thousand Ducats into *Germany*; and they could not with Decency, nor perhaps without Danger of giving Offence, having Regard to past Examples, deny him his Request; nor was it believed that the Pontiff, though it might be very disagreeable to

THE WARS IN ITALY. 117

to him, would refuse to grant that *Cæsar* A. D. 1518.
 should receive in his Name the Crown of
 the Empire from the Hands of Apostolical
 Legates in *Germany*, considering that a
 Journey to *Rome* in order to be crowned
 there, though it were with greater De-
 monstrations of the Authority of the Apo-
 stolic See, was in all other Respects ra-
 ther a Ceremony than a Thing of Sub-
 stance.

WITH these Projects, and with these
 Transactions passed off the Year 1518, the
 Electors not being yet come to a Reso-
 lution, which became more doubtful and
 difficult by the Death of *Cæsar*, which 1519.
 happened in the Beginning of the Year Death and Character of Maximilian Cæsar.
 1519. He died at *Lintz* a Town situated
 on the Borders of *Austria*, intent, as al-
 ways, on the Chace of wild Beasts, and
 with the same Fortune in which he had
 almost always lived, and which having
 been very kind to him in offering him vast
 Opportunities, I know not whether she
 did not shew herself equally averse in not
 suffering him to make Use of them, or
 whether he did not rather deprive himself

A. D.

1519

of what Fortune brought home to his own Door meerly by his own Inconstancy, and extravagant Conceptions, which were under no Regulation, and frequently different from the Opinions of other Men, and which in Conjunction with an immense Prodigality, and Diffipation of Money interrupted all his Successes, and lost him all his Opportunities. He was otherwise a Prince very knowing in the Art of War, secret, very laborious, merciful, bountiful, and thoroughly endowed with many excellent and ornamental Gifts and Qualifications.

Kings of
France
and Spain
Competi-
tors for
the Em-
pire.

MAXIMILIAN being deceased the Kings of *France* and *Spain* began openly to aspire to the Empire, and though the Contention was between Princes of such Greatness, and concerning so important an Affair, it was however managed with Modesty, without proceeding either to contumelious Words, or Menaces of Arms, but each made the best Use of his Authority, and what other Means he had, to gain over to his Side the Electors. The King of *France* even condescended to discourse in a very becoming

becoming Manner with the *Spanish* Ambassadors on that Election, in which he said it was commendable that each of them should be decently sollicitous to adorn himself with the Splendor of so great a Dignity, which at different Times had been in the Houses of their Ancestors; but that neither of them ought on such an Account to resume it in Prejudice to the Rights of the other, nor suffer their mutual Harmony and Benevolence for that Reason to be diminished, but rather to follow the Example, which may be sometimes observed, of two young Lovers, who, tho' they love the same Woman, and each exerts himself with all his Art and Industry to obtain her, yet never fall out between themselves and quarrel upon her Account.

THE King of *Spain* thought he had a just Claim to the Empire because it had continued many Years in the House of *Austria*, and it had not been customary for the Electors to divert it from the Descendants of the Deceased without evident Proof of their Incapacity: There was no

A. D. Prince in *Germany* of so great Power and

1519.

Authority as to come in Competition with him in that Election, and it seemed to him neither just nor probable that the Electors should think of transferring so great a Dignity, which had continued so many Ages in the *German* Nation, on a foreign Prince. And even supposing there should be some among them, who either corrupted by Money, or for some other Reason, might have different Intentions, yet he hoped to annoy them by seasonable Preparations of Arms, and that the other Electors would oppose them, and at least that the other Princes and free Towns of *Germany* would not put up with so infamous and dishonourable an Act which concerned them all, and especially when the Question was about transferring the Imperial Dignity on the Person of the King of *France*, and by that Means increasing the Power of a King who was an Enemy to their Nation, and from whence, they might rest themselves assured, that Dignity would never return to *Germany*. He thought it also no difficult Matter to perfect what had been before negotiated by

THE WARS IN ITALY. 121

by his Grandfather, an Agreement being *A. D.*
already settled with each of the Electors *1519.*
concerning the Rewards and Donatives.

ON the other Side the Desires and
Hopes of the King of *France* were by no
means inferior to those of his Rival, be- *Reasons*
ing founded principally on a Belief of pro- *for the*
curing the Votes of the Electors by a very *King of*
large Sum of Money. With some of these *France.*
Princes he had Attachments by Ties of an-
tient Friendship and Endearments, and
was incited by them to this Undertaking,
and persuaded of the Facility of its Ac-
complishment. These Hopes, as Men
are prone to believe what they desire, he
nourished with Reasons rather apparent
than real: For he knew that, generally
speaking, the Princes of *Germany* thought
it a Grievance that the Emperors should
be very powerful, from a Jealousy that
they would be tempted, either in all or
in Part, to reclaim the Jurisdictions which
many had usurped; and therefore he per-
suaded himself that they would by no
means consent to the Election of the King
of *Spain*, and so voluntarily subject them-
selves

A. D. 1519. selves to an Emperor more powerful than any one that had reigned since the Times of the antient Emperors; whereas the Case was quite otherwise with respect to himself, for as he had no States nor antient Dependencies in *Germany*, they had no such Occasion to be jealous of his Greatness. The same Reason he imagined as sufficient with the Free Towns, not only to counterballance but to explode the Concern for the Glory of the Nation, since Men in general are, without Comparison, more easily moved by the Spurs of private Interest than by a Regard to the public Good. He knew that many illustrious Houses in *Germany*, who pretended to be capable of the Imperial Dignity, were highly dissatisfied at the Continuation of the Empire so many Years in the same Family, and that so eminent a Degree of Honour, which ought sometimes to be bestowed on one House, sometimes on another by Election, had begun in a manner by Succession to perpetuate itself in one and the same Race, since an Election, which orders not to depart from the next in the Line of the deceased Emperors,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

123

A. D.

1519.

perors, might be called a Succession. Thus had the Empire passed from *Albert* of *Austria* to *Frederic* his Brother, and from *Frederic* to his Son *Maximilian*, and now there was a Design to transmit it from *Maximilian* on the Person of *Charles* his Grandson. This Discontent and Indignation of the *German* Princes gave the King of *France* some Hopes that the Discords and Emulations between themselves might assist his Cause, it often happening in Contentions that he who sees himself, or the Party whom he favoureth excluded, precipitates himself, postponing all other Regards, into the Choice of a Third rather than give Place to him who had opposed his Intentions. *Francis* had also some Hopes in the Favour of the Pontiff, as well on account of the close Union and Friendship which he seemed to have contracted with him, as because he imagined that the Pope could not be pleased that *Charles*, a Prince of such Power, and who, by the Bordering of the Kingdom of *Naples* on the State of the Church, with the Adherence of the *Ghibelline* Party, had opened a Passage to the Gates of *Rome*,

A. D.

1519.

Rome, should obtain also the Crown of the Empire, not considering that this Reason, which was very forcible against *Charles*, was of Weight also against himself. For the Pope and every other Power had as much Reason to dread the Investiture of the Empire in him as in *Charles*, considering that if one of them possessed perhaps more Kingdoms and States, the other was no less to be valued because his Power was not dispersed, nor divided into different Places, but his Kingdom was all contiguous and united together, the People wonderfully obedient, and the Land abounding with Riches, but not knowing in himself what he easily considered in others, he had recourse to the Pope, beseeching him, that he would be pleased to grant him his Favour, since he and his Kingdoms were as much at his Devotion as if he were his own Son.

THE Pope found himself very much embarrassed with the Cause of this Election, the Assumption of either of the Kings to the Empire being highly disagreeable to him on account of the Security of the Apostolic

THE WARS IN ITALY. 125

Apostolic See, and of the rest of *Italy*; A. D. 1519.
 and as he had no great Dependence on his Authority with the Electors, he judged it necessary in so momentous an Affair to proceed with Prudence and artful Means. He was persuaded that the King of *France* was deceived by some of the Electors, and had no Share in that Election; and that the Power of Corruption, tho' in venal Men, had not prevailed to such a Height as vilely to transfer the Empire of the *German* Nation to the King of *France*. He imagined that it would be very easy for the King of *Spain* to compass his Design, because he was of the same Nation, and through the Negotiations that were begun by *Maximilian*, and on many other Accounts, if he did not make a very powerful Opposition against him; and this was no other Way to be effected, as he thought, than by disposing the King of *France* to employ the same good Offices and Money in behalf of one of the Electors which he used for procuring his own Election. He thought it impossible to induce the King to make this Step while he was at the Height of his vain Hopes, but was inclined

Politic
 Conduct
 of the
 Pope.

A. D.

1649

inclined to believe that the more ardently and with the greater Expectations he involved himself in this Negotiation, the more easily, when he should come to perceive that his Projects would prove abortive, finding himself exposed, provoked, and in the Height of the Contention, he would precipitate himself into Measures for electing a third Person, whose Interest he would espouse with no less Ardor than he had shewn in prosecuting his own Cause; and he was in Hopes at this Time, that as soon as he had persuaded the King to believe that he favoured his Design, and concurred with him in his Wishes, he should find him tractable and attentive to his Authority and Counsel. It might possibly also happen, that by briskly espousing in the Beginning the Cause of the King of *France*, the other King, seeing such Difficulties like to attend the Prosecution of his Designs, and suspecting that the King his Adversary had a Hand in them, might in like manner be eagerly solicitous for chusing a Third. With this View he not only pretended to the King of *France* that he

was

was highly desirous that the Empire ^{A. D.} should be transferred to him, but encour- ¹⁵¹⁹
 aged him by many Arguments to proceed resolutely in his Design, promising in a most ample Manner to favour him with all the Authority of the Pontificate. And imagining that he could employ no better Instrument to impress on the King a Belief of the Sincerity of his Intentions in this Transaction than a Person whom his Majesty thought more dependent on himself than on others, he immediately appointed *Roberto Orsino*, Archbishop of *Reggio*, a Person in whom the King could confide, his Nuncio in *Germany*, with Instructions that he should both separately, and in conjunction with the *French* Agents, use his utmost Endeavours with the Electors for promoting his Majesty's Intentions, directing him however to proceed with more or less Moderation according to the Disposition of the Electors, and the State of Affairs in *Germany*. This Scheme was prudently concerted by the Pontiff, and covered with the deepest Diffimulation, but in order to make it succeed there wanted more Prudence in
 the

A. D. the King of *France*, and in his Ministers
 1519. who were in *Germany*, and more Gravity
 and Faithfulness in the Ministers of the
 Pontiff.

French

Fleet puts
 to Sea.

BUT while these Affairs were under
 Transaction by Negotiation and by Arms,
 the King of *France* ordered *Pietro Na-*
varra to put to Sea with a Fleet of Gallies
 and other Ships, having on board Four
 Thousand regular Troops, under a Pre-
 tence of cruising on the Vessels of the
Moors, who having now for many Years
 roved about our Seas without Disturbance,
 infested them this Year more than ever,
 and to make some Attack, if the Pope
 pleased, on the *African* Coast. But the
 principal Motive to this Expedition was
 from the Apprehensions of the Pontiff,
 who having declared himself wholly on
 the *French* Side in the Cause of the Em-
 pire, had Reason to be afraid of the
 Forces of the Catholic King, who, more
 for Fear of being attacked than from a
 Desire to attack others, was with great
 Diligence fitting out a Squadron to be
 sent to guard the Kingdom of *Naples*.
 Under

THE WARS IN ITALY. 129

Under these mutual Distrusts and Jealousies the two Kings however continued in the same Diffimulation of mutual Friendship, and the Grand Master of *France* and *M. de Cbeures*, who were intrusted in a manner with all the Counsels, and knew the Minds of their respective Kings, held a Congress by their Commission at *Montpellier*, for debating on the Confirmation of the Marriage of the second Daughter of the King of *France* with the King of *Spain*, and much more for settling the Affair of *Navarre*, the Restitution of which Kingdom to its former Sovereign had been promised by the Convention made at *Noyon*, and, tho' earnestly solicited by the King of *France*, had hitherto been delayed by the Catholic King under various Pretences. But the Death of the Grand Master happening before the Conferences began, defeated all Expectations from that Meeting.

At this Time died *Lorenzo de' Medici* Death of
*Lorenzo
de' Medici*;
of a Disorder under which he had languished almost ever since his Return from *France*, where he consummated his in-

1301

THE HISTORY OF

A. D.
1519

auspicious Marriage, for a very few Days before his Death his Wife had prepared the Way by dying in Childbed.

Pope dis-
poses of
Florence
and *Ur-
bino*.

AFTER the Death of *Lorenzo* the Pope being desirous to keep, while he lived, the Power of the *Florentines* united with that of the Church, rejecting the Counsels of some who advised him, since there remained no more but himself of the legitimate Descendents by the male Line of *Cosmo de' Medici* the Founder of that Greatness, to restore his Country to its Liberty, preferred the Cardinal *de' Medici* to the Administration of that State, either from a Desire to perpetuate the Name of his Family, or out of Hatred to the Name of a Republic because of his Exile. And judging that, on account of the Love of the People to their ancient Duke, it would be difficult to keep Possession of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, under the Name of the only remaining Daughter of *Lorenzo* comprehended in her Father's Investiture, he restored it, together with *Pesaro* and *Sinigaglia*, to the Apostolic See. Nor thinking this sufficient to restrain the Ar-

dor

THE WARS IN ITALY. 131

dor of the People, he caused the Walls of *A. D.*
the City of *Urbino* and of the other prin- 1519.
cipal Places of that Dutchy to be demo-
lished, except those of *Agobbio*, to which
City, because it was not so cordially affect-
ed to *Francesco Maria* on account of its
Emulation of the City of *Urbino*, he
shewed Favour, and increased its Repu-
tation, appointing it the Capital of that
Dutchy: And the more to weaken that
State he gave the Fortrefs of *San Leo*,
with the whole *Montefeltro* and the
Piviero di Sestina, usually reckoned in the
Territory of *Cesena*, to the *Florentines*, in
Payment of Money they had disbursed for
him in the War of *Urbino*, for which
the Apostolic Chamber, by his Procure-
ment, before stood bound, the *Florentines*
not being well pleased with that Satis-
faction, tho' unable to resist his Will.

THE Contention for the Empire, which
held all Christendom in vast Suspense,
was still prosecuted by both Kings with
greater Warmth than ever, in which the
King of *France* was every Day more and
more deluded by hearkening to the mighty
King of *France* strives to be Em-
peror.

A. D.

1519.

Promises of the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, one of the Electors, who having received from him very large Offers of Money, and perhaps a Sum in Hand, had not only obliged himself by some secret Articles to give him his Vote, but promised that the Archbishop of *Mentz*, his Brother, one of the three Electoral Prelates, should do the same. The King also promised himself much from some others of the Electors, and was in Hopes, if the Votes should be equal, of the Vote of the King of *Bohemia*, by which, when the six Electors, three of whom are Prelates, and three Princes, disagree with an Equality on each Side, the Controversy is decided. Wherefore he ordered the Admiral, who had before been dispatched into *Germany* on these Affairs, a very large Sum of Money to be distributed among the Electors; and being informed that many of the Free Towns, in conjunction with the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, had assembled many Troops, and threatened such as would transfer the Empire to Foreigners, he made further Provisions of Money for opposing with Arms all those who would prevent

prevent the Electors from chusing him *A. D.*
 Emperor. But the States and People of *Germany* were very sollicitous that the
1519.
 Imperial Dignity might not be removed
 from that Nation, and even the *Swiss*,
 inspired with the Love of the common
 Country *Germany*, had supplicated the
 Pontiff to use his Interest for none in that
 Election who should not be of the *Ger-*
man Language. He continued however
 to favour the King of *France*, in Hopes
 that by shewing himself so zealous for his
 Cause, he would be induced to give the
 greater Credit to his Counsel, by which
 at last he endeavoured to persuade him to
 lay aside all Hopes of being elected him-
 self, and to continue the same Efforts for
 procuring the Election of any other of
 the *German* Princes. But his Advice took
 no Effect, for the Admiral and *Roberto*
Orfino, deceived by those who, to draw
 Money from the *French*, gave them most
 certain Assurances, and possessed with
 Passion, one by being of the *French*
 Temper, and a Minister of the Court,
 and the other from his easy Disposition,
 and a Desire of acquiring the royal Fa-
 vour,

A. D.

1519

your, confirmed the King with their chimerical Advices more and more in the Hopes of obtaining his Ends,

SUCH were the Negotiations when those to whom belongs the Power of electing the *Roman* Emperor, not by the more antient Custom, or well grounded Reason, but by the Concession of the *Roman* Pontiff Gregory V. a *German* by Nation, assembled themselves, according to antient Custom, at *Francfort*, a Town of *lower Germany*. While they employed themselves in various Debates on the due Time for proceeding to the Election according to their Statutes, an Army, set on Foot by Order of the King of *Spain*, who was more ready to raise Soldiers with his Money than to give it away to the Electors, advancing within the Neighbourhood of *Francfort*, under Pretence of preventing all Attempts for procuring an Election by violent Means, increased the Courage of those Electors who favoured his Cause, drew those who were dubious over to the same Side, and so intimidated *Brandenburg*, who was inclined to the King of *France*,

THE WARS IN ITALY 135

France, that despairing of the Concurrence A. D. 1519.
of the other Electors in his Designs, and willing to avoid the Hatred and Reproach of the whole Nation, he had not the Assurance to discover his Intentions. On proceeding therefore to the Act of Election, on the twenty-eighth Day of *June*, *Charles* of *Austria*, King of *Spain*, was elected Emperor by the joint Votes of four Electors, the Archbishop of *Mentz*, the Archbishop of *Cologne*, the Count Palatine, and the Duke of *Saxony*; but the Archbishop of *Triers* gave his Vote for the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, who also concurred with him in the Election of himself. Nor was it doubted that if, by the Equality of Votes, the Election had come to the Disposal of the seventh Elector, the Event would have been the same; for *Lewis* King of *Bohemia*, who was also King of *Hungary*, had promised his Vote to *Charles*.

Charles
King of
Spain
elected
Emperor.

THIS Election was a great Mortification to the King of *France*, and to his Dependents in *Italy*, and on the other Hand greatly animated those who had contrary

A. D.

1519.

Hopes or Designs, seeing such great Power vested in one Prince alone, young in Years, and one to whom, it was believed, had by many Prophecies been promised a large Empire with wonderful Felicity. And tho' he did not abound in Money as much as the King of *France*, yet he enjoyed one Advantage of very great Importance, in that he could fill up his Armies with *German* and *Spanish* Infantry, highly esteemed for their Valour and Bravery, in which Respect it was quite otherwise with the King of *France*, for as he had no Foot in his own Kingdom that were capable of resisting the others, he could not engage in any considerable Wars without hiring Infantry from foreign Countries with very great Expence, and sometimes with very considerable Difficulty. In this Exigence he was obliged to entertain in his Service with great Care and Cost the *Swiss*, and to bear with many Injuries from them, and yet he was never secure of their Constancy, nor of their Faithfulness. Nor was it doubted but that between two young Princes, who had many Causes of Emulation, and of Contention, the

THE WARS IN ITALY. 137

the Scene would at last end in a very dangerous and destructive War; for the King of *France* retained his Desire of recovering the Kingdom of *Naples*, pretending a just Title to it, and he had at Heart the Reinstating of King *John* in the Kingdom of *Navarre*, with the Hopes of which he was now sensible that he had been vainly amused. *Cæsar* was uneasy at the Payment of the One Hundred Thousand Ducats, to which he was obliged by the Convention at *Noyon*, and it appeared to him that the King, by rejecting the Accommodation before made at *Paris*, and making an immoderate Use of the Opportunity of his being necessitated to pass into *Spain*, had in a manner constrained him by Force to come to a new Agreement. The Cause of the Duke of *Guelderland* always presented itself fresh before them, which alone, on account of his being in the Protection of the King, and reputed a great Enemy by the State of *Flanders*, was enough to excite them to Arms. But what above all stirred up the keenest Resentment in the Breast of the new *Cæsar* was the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, which
being

A. D.

1519.

Causes of
Dissention
between
the Em-
peror and
King of
France.

A. D. being seized by *Lewis XI.* on occasion of
1519. the Death of *Charles Duke of Burgundy*,
maternal Grandfather to *Cæsar's* Father,
had always disquieted the Minds of that
Duke's Successors. Nor were there want-
ing Incentives or Cause of Contention on
account of the Dutchy of *Milan*, of which
the present King, not having, since the
Death of *Lewis XII.* obtained nor de-
manded the Investiture, and many Ex-
ceptions being pretended to the Rights he
had acquired by the Investiture made to
his Predecessor, both from the Invalidity
and Diminution of those Rights, even this
was sufficient to raise a War between
them. But neither Times nor Oppor-
tunities would at present permit them to
make any Movement, for besides that it
was necessary for *Cæsar* to repass first into
Germany to receive, according to the
Custom of Emperors elect, the Crown of
the Empire at *Aix*, it must be considered,
that either of them was so powerful that
the Difficulty of injuring one the other
restrained each from being the Aggressor
before he had perfectly informed himself
of the Dispositions and Inclinations of the
other

THE WARS IN ITALY.

139

other Princes, and particularly, if a War was to be made in *Italy*, of the Pope. But the Mind of the Pontiff, which he took care to conceal by his usual Arts of Diffimulation, was unknown to all, and perhaps sometimes unresolved in itself. He had however, more because he had no Pretence to refuse it without grievous Offence than out of free Will, dispensed with *Charles's* Acceptation of his Election to the Empire contrary to the Tenor of the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, in which, according to the Form of the antient Investitures, it was expressly forbidden him.

A. D.

1519.

THUS *Italy* for these Reasons preserved itself in Peace, tho' at the End of this same Year the Pontiff made an Attempt to get Possession of the City of *Ferrara*, not by open Arms but by secret Conspiracy. For tho' it was believed that, by the Death of his Nephew *Lorenzo*, wanting Men more than States in his Family, he had laid aside all Thoughts of the Acquisition of *Ferrara*, to which he had before always aspired, yet, either stimulated by

Pope

forms a

Plot

against

Ferrara.

his

A. D.

1519.

his antient Hatred conceived against that Duke, or by an ambitious Desire of equalling, or at least approaching as near as he could, the Glory of *Julius*, the Death of his Brother and Nephew had not in any measure allayed the Ardor of those Passions. Hence it may easily be comprehended that the Ambition of Priests has no greater Incentives than from itself; since neither the Condition of the Times, nor the Situation and Strength of that City, which *Alfonso* had with the greatest Diligence put in a very good State of Defence, would allow him to think of taking it by open Force; especially as it was also provided with almost an infinite Quantity of very fine Cannon and military Stores, and the Duke, by limiting his Expences in every Article, and imposing new Duties and Customs, having improved his Revenue to the uttermost, and by his industrious Management representing on many Accounts rather a Merchant than a Prince, was believed to have accumulated a vast Stock of Money. The Pontiff therefore had no Hopes, without an Alteration in the Circumstances of the Times,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

141

Times, of obtaining his Desire any other A. D.
 Way than by secret Plotting and Con- 1519.
 spiracy, which Method he had for the
 Time past in vain pursued by tampering
 with *Niccolo da Este* and many others.
 And *Alfonso* not knowing that he still
 practised these treacherous Arts, but think-
 ing himself in a manner secure, not of his
 Will but of his Plots, the Pontiff, con-
 sidering the Means that were proposed to
 him, that *Alfonso* was by a slow Disorder
 reduced to so weak a Condition that his
 Recovery seemed almost desperate, and
 that his Brother the Cardinal, because he
 was in Disgrace at the Court of *Rome*, re-
 sided in *Hungary*, thought it a fit Season
 to attempt the Execution of a Design
 which had been proposed to him by some
 Exiles of *Ferrara*, in concert with *Ales-*
sandro Fregoso Bishop of *Ventimiglia*, who
 then lived in *Bologna*, because he had
 aspired to be Doge as his Father the Car-
 dinal had been, and was therefore ob-
 noxious to *Ottaviano Fregoso*. This Pre-
 late had met with bad Success in the Plots
 which he had formed for procuring his
 Return to his own Country, but promised
 himself

A. D.

1519

himself better Fortune in that which he managed for others in foreign Countries.

THE Bishop then, under Colour of making an Attempt to enter by Force of Arms into *Genoa*, privately received of the Pontiff Ten Thousand Ducats, with which he lifted Two Thousand Foot in the Territory of *Rome*, and in the *Lamigiana*. On the Report of this Levy *Ottaviano Fregoso*, solicitous for his own Safety, put himself in a State of Defence by Sea and Land; the Bishop then, making a Show as if by the Discovery of his Designs he was cut off from all Hopes of effecting at present a Change in the State of *Genoa*, gave Notice to *Federigo da Bozzolo*, by whose Assistance, in a great measure, *Concordia* was maintained against *Giovanni Francesco* Count of *Mirandola*, that he might serve himself with those Troops while their Pay lasted, which was near a Month, and passing the *Appennine*, descended into the Territory of *Correggio*, marching slowly along the Road of *Concordia*. The Execution of the Plot depended on passing the River *Pa*, for which

THE WARS IN ITALY.

143

which Purpose certain Servants of *Alberto A. D.*
da Carpi, who was conscious to the De- ^{1519.}
 sign, had hired, under the Name of
 Dealers in Corn, a good Number of Boats
 which lay at the Mouth of the River
Secchia, as the Inhabitants of the circum-
 jacent Territory call the Place where the
Secchia falls into the *Po*. As soon as the
 Troops had passed the *Po* the Bishop de-
 signed to advance with utmost Speed to
Ferrara, where he had been a few Months
 before, and had observed a Place of the
 Town on the *Po*, where above Forty
 Braces of the Wall were fallen down,
 and made a wide and open Breach, very
 easy to enter. This Part of the Wall had
 tumbled down not long before, and was
 not so quickly repaired because the Near-
 ness of the River, and Security of the
 Inhabitants gave too much Occasion to the
 Negligence of those whose Office it was
 carefully to provide against such Accidents.
 But as soon as a Report was spread through
 the circumjacent Country that *Ventimiglia*
 with these Troops had passed the *Appennine*,
 the Marquis of *Mantoua*, not out of any
 particular Jealousy, but from an old
 Custom

A. D.

1519.

Custom of rendering the Passage of Rivers difficult to foreign Troops, had removed all the Boats in the Mouth of the *Secchia*, so that *Ventimiglia* was not able to serve himself of the hired Boats, and had no Conveniency of speedily providing others, chiefly because the neighbouring Governors of the Church had not been advised of the Project, nor had any Commission, if they had known it, to interfere in it. While therefore the Bishop and the People of *Alberto* were seeking out some Remedy for this Inconvenience, he lay with the Troops about *Correggio*, and in the neighbouring Places, where having talked too freely in public, and indiscreetly discovered to some particular Persons all the Circumstances of his Design, the Thing took Air, and came to the Ears of the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and he, by one of his People, notified it to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who was so far from suspecting such a Design, that he could hardly be persuaded to believe it. Moved however more by the probable Evidence of the broken Wall than by any other Circumstance of the Story, he set

THE WARS IN ITALY. 145

set about raising Troops; and pretending *A. D.*
 that he had no Suspicion of the Pope, *1519.*
 tho' in his Heart he thought otherwise,
 he informed him of the Plot that had
 been laid against him by the Bishop of
Ventimiglia, and beseeched him to send
 his Orders to the neighbouring Governors
 to assist him if Necessity required. The
 Pope readily granted his Request by fa-
 vourable Briefs, but at the same time pri-
 vately transmitted different Orders. The
 Report of the Preparations that were
 making at *Ferrara*, joined to the Diffi-
 culty of passing the *Po*, extinguished the
 Hopes of the Bishop of *Ventimiglia*;
 wherefore he remained with his Troops
 near *Concordia*, and while he was carry-
 ing on a Treaty with the People of that
 Place, who already suspected him, about
 acting against *Mirandola*, he suddenly one
 Night presented himself before the Walls
 of *Concordia*, and gave an Assault, but
 with a Design to make the World believe
 that his Coming into these Places was not
 with an Intent to proceed to *Ferrara*, but
 to seize on *Concordia*. This Attack proved
 unsuccessful, and the Troops had after-
 VOL. VII. K wards

A. D.

1519.

wards his Leave to break up and dispose of themselves. Many however were of Opinion, and *Alfonso* himself, that if the Bishop had not been deprived of the Means for passing the *Po*, he would have made his Way through the broken Wall into *Ferrara*, where was no Garrison, nor Suspensions of any Danger, the Duke in a very bad State of Health, and the People so dissatisfied with his Administration, that very few, on the rising of a sudden Tumult, would have taken Arms, or hazarded their Lives for the State.

1520.

Rise of the
Lutheran
Heresy.

WE are now entering upon the Year 1520, in which, the Peace of *Italy* being continued from the same Causes by which it had been preserved the Year preceding, new upstart Doctrines began to spread mightily, first against the Authority of the *Roman* Church, and afterwards against the Authority of the Christian Religion. This pestiferous Poison had its Original in *Germany*, in the Province of *Saxony*, by the Preachings of *Martin Luther*, a professed Friar of the Order of *St. Austin*, who began for the most part with reviving the

obscure

X

old

THE WARS IN ITALY. 147

old Errors of the *Bobemians*, which being *A. D.*
condemned by the General Council of the *1520.*
Church held at *Constance*, and *John Hus*
and *Jerome* of *Prague*, two of the prin-
cipal Heads of that Herefy, burnt by the
Authority of that Council, had been for
a long Time restrained within the Con-
fines of *Bobemia*. The Occasion of their
Revival in *Germany* was a too licentious
Use of the Authority of the Apostolic See
by *Leo*, who, in regard to the Favours
which that Court dispenses in spiritual and
beneficial Matters, following the Advice
of *Lorenzo Pucci*, Cardinal of *Santi*
Quattro, had dispersed over all the World,
without Distinction of Times and Places,
most ample Indulgences, of Virtue suffi-
cient not only for the Relief of Mortals
in this present Life, but to deliver the
Souls of the Deceased from the Pains of
Purgatory. And because it was notorious
that these Indulgences were granted for
extorting Money from People, and were
imprudently exercised by the Commissaries
deputed to that Exaction, most of whom
had purchased of the Court the Licence
to exercise that Office, he had excited
much

A. D. much Indignation, and given great Offence
1520. in many Places, and especially in *Germany*, where the Power of delivering the Souls of the Dead out of Purgatory was seen to be sold by his Officers for a small Price, or play'd away at Gaming in Taverns. And the Scandal was increased when it was known that the Pope, who, from the Easiness of his Temper, discharged the pontifical Office in many Cases with little Majesty, had made a Present to his Sister *Maddalena* of the Profits arising from the Sale of Indulgences in many Parts of *Germany*: And she having appointed as her Commissary Bishop *Arembodo*, a Minister worthy of that Commission, which he exercised with great Avarice and Extortion; and it being known over all *Germany* that the Money squeezed from them was never paid in to the Pope or the Apostolical Chamber, whence perhaps some Part of it might possibly be applied to good Uses, but was all designed to satisfy the Avarice of one Woman, he had rendered detestable not only the Exaction and the Officers employ'd in it, but the Name and Authority

THE WARS IN ITALY. 149

thority of him who was so ill advised as *A. D.*
to grant it. 1520.

LUTHER, having taken this Opportunity, and begun to despise those Concessions, and to question the Authority of the Pope in them, the great Number of his Auditors in a Cause so plausible, and grateful to the Ears of the People, still increasing, began every Day more openly to deny the Authority of the Pontiff. From these Beginnings, perhaps honest, or at least, from the just Occasion that was given him, in some measure excusable, being transported with Ambition, popular Applause, and the Favour of the Duke of *Saxony*, he not only inveighed too immoderately against the Power of the Pontiffs, and the Authority of the *Roman* Church, but also, running into the Errors of the *Bobemians*, began in Process of Time to remove Images out of the Churches, to strip Ecclesiastical Places of their Ornaments, to allow Marriage to professed Monks and Nuns, and to justify such a Practice not only by Authority and Arguments, but also by his own Example,

A. D. 1520. to deny that the Pope had any Power without the Bishopric of *Rome*, or any more Authority in his Diocese than what belongs to every other Bishop within his Precincts, to reject all Determinations of Councils, all the Writings of those called the Doctors of the Church, all the Canon Laws, and Decrees of the Popes, referring himself wholly to the Old Testament, the Book of the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, to whatever is comprehended under the Name of the New Testament, and to the Epistles of *St. Paul*, but giving to them all new and doubtful Senses, and Interpretations never known before. Nor did the Madness of him and of his Followers rest within these Bounds, but followed, as it may be said, by almost all *Germany*, running daily into more detestable and pernicious Errors, proceeded so far as to strike at the Sacraments of the Church, and to despise Fastings, Penances and Confessions; some of his Followers afterwards, tho' become in some measure Dissenters from his Authority, giving themselves the Liberty to invent pestiferous and diabolical Opinions

con-

THE WARS IN ITALY. 151

concerning the Eucharist. These Impieties, which all owe their Rise to a ^{A D. 1520.} Rejection of the Authority of the Councils and of the Holy Doctors, have made Way for every new and perverse Invention and Interpretation, and have spread themselves into many Parts even without the Bounds of *Germany*, because they contain a Kind of Doctrine which setting Men free from a Multitude of Precepts enjoined for the universal Good by the General Councils of the Church, the Decrees of the Popes, the Authority of the Canons, and the sound Interpretations of the holy Doctors, leaves them at Liberty to live according to their own Discretion, and, as it were, without Restraint.

THE Pontiff used his Endeavours to suppress this pestiferous Doctrine in its ^{Progress} Beginnings, but did not use the Remedies ^{of Lutheranism.} and Methods proper for the Cure of so great a Disorder; for he cited *Martin Luther* to *Rome*, suspended him from the Office of Preaching, and afterwards for his Disobedience subjected him to the

A. D.

1520.

from shewing very bad Examples in many Things, which were deservedly condemned by *Luther*, and gave Offence to all People; whence the Prosecution by Ecclesiastic Arms was so far from diminishing that it increased the Reputation of *Martin* with the Public, as if he were fallen under Persecution more for the Innocency of his Life, and the Soundness of his Doctrine, than for any other Cause. The Pope sent many in religious Orders to preach in *Germany* against him, and wrote many Briefs to Princes and to Prelates; but neither this nor many other Means that were used being sufficient to repress him, because of the Inclination of the People, and the great Favour shown him in the Towns of the Duke of *Saxony*, the Cause began to appear every Day more and more interesting in the Court of *Rome*, and increased the Apprehensions that it would prove vastly detrimental to the Grandeur of the Popes, to the Profits of the *Roman* Court, and to the Unity of the Christian Religion. Wherefore frequent Consistories were held this Year in
Rome

THE WARS IN ITALY. 153

Rome on that Occasion, and frequent Con-
 sultations of Cardinals and Divines ap-
 pointed for that Purpose in the Pope's
 Chamber, in order to find out Remedies
 for this Disorder, which still grew worse.
 And tho' there were not wanting some to
 admonish that the Prosecution of *Luther*
 had hitherto only served to increase his
 Reputation and Favour with the People,
 because it was not attended with a Cor-
 rection of many Things worthy of Re-
 proof in themselves, and that it would
 have been a less Evil to dissemble the
 Sense of that Disgrace, which would per-
 haps have wore away of itself, than by
 blowing the Coals to kindle a Contention
 and increase its Rage, yet, as it is the
 Nature of Men to proceed rather by vio-
 lent Remedies, not only the Prosecutions
 were carried on with greater Vigour against
Martin and those others his Followers,
 commonly called *Lutherans*, but it was
 resolved to issue a very severe Monitory
 against the Duke of *Saxony*, by which
 being exasperated he became the more
 vehement Defender of his Cause, which
 for many Years together has been pro-
 pagated

A. D.

1520.

pagated to that Degree that almost all Christendom is in great Danger to be infected with the Contagion. Nor has any thing so much checked its Course as the Knowledge that the Followers of this Doctrine are no less obnoxious to the Power of temporal Princes than to the Authority of the *Roman* Pontiffs, which has been the Cause that many Princes have for their own Interest carefully prohibited under severe Penalties the Admittance of this Contagion into their Dominions. On the contrary nothing has so much confirmed the Stubbornness of these Errors, which have sometimes, by the Extravagances of the Heads of those Heresies, and by the Variety and even Contrariety of Opinions among themselves, been ready to fall into Confusion and sink away, as the licentious Liberty acquired by the People in their Way of Living, and the Avarice of Potentates, which will not suffer them to deprive themselves of the Goods and Estates which they have ravished from the Churches.

NOTHING

THE WARS IN ITALY.

155

A. D.

1520.

NOTHING more happened this Year worthy of Memory, except that *Gian Pagolo* expelled *Gentile*, of the same Family of the *Baglioni*, and his Partner in the Administration, out of *Perugia*, either on account of some Quarrel arising between them, or because *Gian Pagolo*, not contenting himself with the greater Share and Authority in the Government, was willing to engross the whole Management: The Pope, displeased at this Violence, caused *Gian Pagolo* to be cited to make his personal Appearance at *Rome*; but *Pagolo*, afraid to go thither himself, sent his Son *Malatesta* to make his Justification, with Offers of his ready Obedience to all the Pope's Commands. But the Pontiff insisting on his Coming, after he had been many Days in Perplexity, he resolved to go, partly from a Confidence in antient Merits, and Services done to his Family on all Occasions, and partly through the Persuasions of *Camillo Orsino* his Son-in-law, and others of his Friends, who employing their Authority, and making Use of powerful Means with the Pontiff, either obtained

A. D. 1526. obtained of him an exprefs Promise, tho' not in Writing, or at least the Pontiff abused their Credulity with the most crafty and ensnaring Speeches, and so well disguised his Intentions, that those who were confident that they could sound him, and know his Mind, encouraged *Baglione* to make his Appearance, assuring him that he might do it with Safety. But when he was arrived at *Rome*, he found that the Pope, under Pretence of taking his Diversion, as it was usual with him at other Times, was a few Days before retired into the Castle of *Sant' Angelo*; and the next Morning *Gian Pagolo* going to present himself, was, before he came to the Pope's Presence, arrested by the Governor, and being afterwards rigorously examined by Judges appointed for that Purpose confessed many enormous Crimes both in the Measures he had taken for supporting himself in the Tyranny, and for indulging his brutal Pleasures, or otherwise serving his private Interest, for which he was, after above two Months Imprisonment, according to the Course of Justice, beheaded. It was thought that

*Gian Pa-
golo Bag-
lione* be-
headed.

the

THE WARS IN ITALY.

157

the Pope proceeded to this Extremity be-
cause in the War of *Urbino* he was con-
vinced by many Signs that *Gian Pagolo* was
disaffected towards him, and held Cor-
respondence with *Francesco Maria*, and
that he could have no firm Dependence
upon him in all Emergencies, nor con-
sequently be secure of *Perugia* while he
was at the Head of that State. To settle
therefore the Administration of Affairs in
that City on such an Establishment as
should best answer his Purpose, the Sons
of *Gian Pagolo*, on the News of their Fa-
ther's Imprisonment, having fled, he con-
stituted *Silvio* Cardinal of *Cortona*, his old
Servant and Pupil, his Legate for that In-
tent, and restored *Gentile* to *Perugia*, be-
stowing on him the Goods that were in
the Possession of *Gian Pagolo*, and placing
him in the highest Seat of Honour and
Greatness, but he rested his Affairs on a
very weak Foundation.

A. D.

1520.

THE Pontiff this Year continued to try
new Plots on the Duke of *Ferrara*,
ascribing the Miscarriage of the Bishop of
Ventimiglia to Chance, or Want of Con-
duct,

Second

Plot of

the Pope

on *Fer-*

rara mis-
carries.

A. D.

1520.

duct, or to some other Cause. For this Purpose he employed *Uberto da Gambera*, Apostolical Protonotary, to treat with one *Rodolph*, a German, and Captain of some German Foot in *Alfonso's* Guards, who had promised to give him free Entrance at Pleasure by the Gate of *Castello Tialto*. The Way lying open for any Troops that might be sent from *Bologna* and *Modena*, who had no Occasion to pass the *Po* but only by a wooden Bridge that is before the Gate, Orders were given to *Guido Rangone* and the Governor of *Modena* to assemble some Troops on other Pretences, and to march on a sudden and take Possession of that Gate, in which they were to defend themselves till they were joined by some Forces from *Modena* and *Bologna*, where Dispositions were made for the Troops to move with all pressing Haste without Form or Order. But the Day being appointed for making the Attack, it was discovered that *Rodolph*, who had, by the Pope's Orders, received of *Uberto da Gambera* about Two Thousand Ducats, had from the very Beginning acquainted *Alfonso* with every Particular of the Plot; and the Duke
after

THE WARS IN ITALY. 159

after he was sufficiently satisfied of the Pope's Mind, and of his Designs, not willing to push the Affair any farther, took care to publish the fraudulent Trick of *Rodolph*.

A. D.

1520.

IN this same Year *Cæsar* passed by Sea from *Spain* to *Flanders*, having in his Passage, not from Necessity, as his Father had done, but of his own Accord, touch'd on the Coast of *England*, for the Sake of conferring with that King, with whom he remained in good Understanding. From *Flanders* he went into *Germany*, and received in *October* at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, a City enobled by the antient Residence and Sepulchre of *Charles the Great*, amidst a vast Concourse, the first Imperial Crown, the very same, as it is reported, with which *Charles the Great* was crowned, which was set on his Head, according to antient Custom, by the Authority of the Princes of *Germany*.

Charles
crowned
Emperor.

BUT this Felicity of *Charles* was disturbed by new Troubles arising in *Spain*, for the People of these Kingdoms had been

Insur-
rection in
Spain.

A. D.
1520.
 been uneasy at his Promotion to the Empire, because they knew it would be necessary for him, on various Accounts, to spend no small Part of his Time out of *Spain*, to the very great Inconvenience and Detriment of them all. But they had much greater Motives from the immoderate Hatred which they had conceived against the Avarice of those who were in the Administration, especially against *Cheures*, who with insatiable Greediness had by all manner of Ways accumulated a vast Sum of Money. And the same Measures had been taken by the other *Flemings* in selling at a Price to Foreigners those Places which were wont to be bestowed on *Spaniards*, and rendering venal all Graces, Privileges and Expeditions, for which Petitions were preferred at Court. Hence all the People being incensed against the Name of the *Flemings*, the Inhabitants of *Valadolid* had been tumultuous at the Departure of *Cæsar*, and he was hardly gone out of *Spain*, when all the People made an Insurrection, not, as they said, against the King, but against wicked Governors, and communicating Counsels together paid

THE WARS IN ITALY. 161

no longer Obedience to the King's Commissioners, but had assembled the greater Part of the People, who settled a Form of Government, which was exercised in the Name of the *Holy Junto*, a Title they bestowed on the General Council of the People. The Generals and Ministers of the King took up Arms against the Seditious, and an open War was commenced, and Disorders grew to so great a Head, that *Cæsar* had very little Authority left; which Circumstance of his Affairs increased the Hopes of those in *Italy* and elsewhere who had Reason to desire a Diminution of so formidable a Greatness.

A. D.
1520.

CÆSAR'S Fleet had however been successful against the *Moors*, and taken from them the Island of *Gerbe*; and in *Germany* the Influence of the King of *France* was in some measure restrained. For the King favouring the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who was at Variance with the *Swabian League*, with a View to foment Divisions in that Province, the People so highly resented it that they drove the Duke out of his State, and sold it as acquired by Conquest to *Cæsar*, who was desirous to

Duke of
Wirtemberg
driven out
of his
State.

A. D.

1520.

humble the Adherents of the King of *France*, and obliged themselves to defend him in the Possession of it against all who should offer to molest him. The Duke therefore seeing himself ruined by his Reliance on *France*, had no other Way left than to have Recourse to the Clemency of *Cæsar*, and accept such Terms as he should be pleased to grant him, and yet was not, on account of this Submission, reinstated in the Possession of his Dutchy.

At the End of this Year about Three Thousand *Spanish* Foot, who had been several Months in *Sicily*, not chusing to return to *Spain* according to the Orders they had received from *Cæsar*, and despising the Authority of their Officers, crossed over to *Reggio* in *Calabria*; then proceeding, with vast Damage over all the Country in their March, towards the State of the Church, excited terrible Apprehensions in the Pope, who had fixed in his Memory the troublesome Affair of *Urbino*, and feared lest, either at the Instigation of other Princes, or attended by Duke *Francesco Maria*, or the Sons of *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, and some other Enemies of the Church, they would raise some

THE WARS IN ITALY. 163

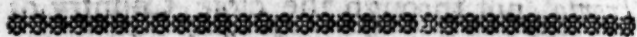
A. D.
1520.

some Combustion, especially since they refused the Offers made them by the Viceroy of *Naples*, and by himself, to take Part of them into Pay, and bestow a Donative of Money on the rest. Assuming greater Spirits from these Offers they put themselves in Motion towards the River *Tronto*, not through the close Country of the *Capitanato*, but through the wide Road of *Puglia*; and being continually reinforced with other Foot, and some Horse, they became more and more formidable. A Stop was however put to this Movement with more Ease and Quickness than had been imagined. For these Troops having passed the *Tronto* in order to advance into the *Marca Anconitana*, whither the Pope had sent good Numbers of Soldiers, and laying Siege to *Ripa Tranfona*, they were after a vigorous Assault, in which they lost many of their Men, constrained to retire. This unsuccessful Attempt so greatly diminished their Courage and Reputation, that they were glad to accept from the Agents of *Cæsar* Conditions far less to their Advantage than those which they had before rejected.

End of the Thirteenth Book.



Francesco Guicciardini's
H I S T O R Y
O F
The WARS in ITALY.



B O O K XIV.

THE CONTENTS.

Pope Leo the Cause of the Interruption of the Peace in Italy. He joins in Confederacy with the Emperor against the King of France. The Emperor gives Luther a Hearing at the Diet of Worms, and afterwards puts him under the Ban of the Empire. Beginning of the War in Lombardy. Reggio defended by Guicciardini, the Author of this History, against the French. Parma and Piacenza reduced under the Dominion of the Church. Parma defended by the Author against M. L'Escud Brother of Lautrech. French lose the Dutchy of Milan. Death of Pope


THE WARS IN ITALY. 165

Pope Leo, and Election of Adrian VI.

Duke of Urbino recovers his State.

Battle of Bicocca. Wars in the States

of Urbino, in Tuscany and Lombardy.


AN effectual Stop having been put, A. D. 1521.
 in the Beginning of the Year
 1521, to the Progress of that
 small Movement, which was more dread-
 ed from the recent Memory of the *Spanish*
 Foot that attacked the Dutchy of *Urbino*,
 than from the Appearance of any probable
 Reasons of Fear, the Affairs of *Italy*, a
 few Months after, began to be embroiled
 by much longer, greater, and more dan-
 gerous Wars than those that were past, the
 Ambition of two very potent Kings, full of
 mutual Emulation, Hatred and Jealousy,
 stimulating them to exercise all their Power,
 and discharge all their Wrath in *Italy*.
 That unhappy Country having enjoyed
 three Years Peace, though dubious, and
 full of Jealousies, it now seemed as if
 Heaven, its own Fate, and Fortune, were
 either envious of its Tranquillity, or were
 apprehensive that the Continuation of its
 L 3 Repose

A. D. Repose would issue in the Restoration of
 1521. its antient Felicity.

Pope
 Cause of
 the War
 in Italy.

THE Beginning to new Commotions was given by those very Persons who, being more than others obliged to procure the Preservation of Peace, are more frequently than others the Disturbers of it, and kindle with all their Industry and Authority a Combustion which, if no other Remedy be sufficient, they ought to extinguish with their own Blood. For tho' the Disaffection between *Cæsar* and the King of *France* increased continually, yet they had no very urgent Reasons at present for a War; neither did they so much exceed one the other in Power in *Italy*, or in any Opportunity, as to be able to injure one another without the Assistance of some others of the *Italian* Princes; because the King of *France*, having the *Venetians* in Confederacy with him for the Defence of the State of *Milan*, and the *Swiss* no longer caring to make Wars in their own Name, but only disposed to serve for Hire any one who would pay them, had no Reason to be apprehensive of any Movement

THE WARS IN ITALY. 167

ment of *Cæsar*, either by Way of the *A. D.*
Kingdom of *Naples*, or from *Germany*. 1521.

Neither on the other hand was it easy for the King of *France* to injure *Cæsar* in the Kingdom of *Naples* without the Concurrence of the Pope in such an Enterprize. Each of the Princes also was solicitous to procure the Friendship of the Pope, by various Arts and Offers, to such a Degree as to make it believed that if his Holiness had continued to stand neuter between them, and had been vigilant, and careful to employ the Pontifical Authority, and the Credit which a just Neutrality would have procured him, for tempering Heats and Animosities, and repressing the Ardor of turbulent Counsels in their Origin, the Peace must have been preserved. Nor was there any apparent Cause that could necessitate him to desire or excite a War, for he had before met with ill Success in his martial Undertakings, and both these Princes were so great that he had equal Reason to dread the Victory of either, clearly knowing that nothing could hinder or restrain the Conqueror from bringing all *Italy* under his Subjection. He held in

A. D.

1521.

quiet Possession, and in perfect Submission, the very large State of the Church, and all his Court were flourishing and happy in the highest Degree; he had full Authority over the State of *Florence*, a powerful State in those Times, and very rich; and he himself was by Nature addicted to Idleness and Pleasures, and at that Time, by an Excess of Liberty and Greatness, averse above measure to all Business, spending whole Days with Musicians, Jesters and Buffoons, and inclined, even beyond the Bounds of Decency, to sensual Gratifications, so that he seemed to be quite taken off from all Thoughts of War. To these Considerations it was added that *Leo* had a Mind so full of exalted Ideas of Splendor and Magnificence, as would have been surprising if he could even have boasted his Descent in a very long Succession from the greatest Kings; and as in his splendid Appearances, or in his Donations, he knew no Measure nor Distinction, he had not only in a short Time, with incredible Prodigality, dissipated the Treasure accumulated by *Julius*, but also infinite Sums, raised

THE WARS IN ITALY. 169

raised from the Dispatches of the Court*, A. D. 1521.
and many Kinds of new Offices invented
on Purpose to exact Money, and was so
excessive in his Expences that he was
forced to be continually racking his Wits
in contriving new Methods for supporting
his Profusenefs; which was by no means
lessened, but rather increased. He had no
Temptations to aggrandise any of his
Kindred, and though he was tormented
with a restless Desire to recover *Parma*
and *Piacenza*, and acquire *Ferrara*, yet
the Possession of these Cities did not seem
a sufficient Reason for him to turn the
World upside down, and subvert the pub-
lic Peace, but rather to temporise in Ex-
pectation of Occasions and Opportunities.
But it is a true as well as a common Say-
ing, "Men have no greater Enemy than
too much Prosperity," since it puts them
out of their own Government, makes
them licentious, and bold in doing Evil,
and desirous of disturbing their own Hap-
piness with Innovations.

LEE

• Bulls, Briefs, &c.

170

THE HISTORY OF

A. D.

1521.

Pope's
Motives
and Pre-
parations
for War.

LEO under these Circumstances, either thinking it a great Disgrace to have lost *Parma* and *Piacenza*, which had been so gloriously acquired by *Julius*; or incapable of restraining his passionate Desire of possessing *Ferrara*; or imagining that if he should die without performing some grand Exploit he should leave a Reproach on the Memory of his Pontificate; or doubting, as he said himself, that the two Kings finding themselves each excluded from the Hopes of his Alliance, and by that means hardly capable of injuring one another, would at last condescend to some Convention between themselves, to the Depression of the Church and of all the rest of *Italy*; or hoping, as I heard afterwards from the Cardinal *de' Medici*, the Confidant of all his Secrets, that if the *French* were driven out of *Genoa* and the Dutchy of *Milan* it would be easy to drive *Cæsar* out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and so he might claim to himself that Glory of the Liberty of *Italy* to which his Predecessor before had manifestly aspired: An Enterprize that *Leo* was unable to accomplish

THE WARS IN ITALY. 171

plish with his own Forces, but was in A. D. 1521.
 Hopes, after first softening the Spirit of the King of *France* by creating some Cardinals, whom he should propose, and by shewing himself ready to grant him other Favours, to induce him to lend his Assistance against *Cesar*, as if the King were to receive instead of a Recompence for his Losses the Satisfaction to see that *Cesar* had met with no better Fortune than himself. Whatever was his Motive, whether one, or more, or all these Reasons, he turned all his Thoughts upon War, and on making an Alliance with one of these two Princes, in Conjunction with whom he might carry on a War in *Italy* against the other. And to prepare himself for the Execution of this Design, and that he might not in the mean time be oppressed by either while he was treating with both, though most closely with the King of *France*, he dispatched into *Swisserland* *Antonio Pucci* Bishop of *Pistoia*, who afterwards obtained, when Times were changed, the Dignity of the Cardinalship, to enlist and conduct into the State of the Church a Body of Six Thousand *Swiss*.
 The

A. D.

1521.

The Cantons made no Difficulty of granting this Levy on account of the Confederacy which the Pope had renewed with them after the War of *Urbino*, and a free Passage being obtained for them through the State of *Milan* they were conducted into the Dominion of the Church, and quartered for several Months in *Romagna* and the *Marca*. And every one being at a Loss to conjecture for what Purpose he put himself to such great and needless Charges, since there was no Movement in *Italy*, he protested that he had called them about him that he might live in Safety, knowing that the Rebels of the Church were every Day forming new Schemes. This Reason not carrying an Air of Probability, the Opinion and Talk of the Public were different on the Subject. Some believed that he had put himself in a State of Defence for fear of the King of *France*, others imagined that he had a Design to seize on *Ferrara*, and others again were of Opinion that his Intent was to drive *Charles* out of the Kingdom of *Naples*. But there was a secret Treaty on Foot between the Pope and the King of *France* about

THE WARS IN ITALY. 173

about attacking with joint Forces the *Neapolitan* Kingdom, of which the Con-
 ditions were, that *Gaeta* and all the Coun-
 try between the River *Garigliano* and the
 Borders of the Ecclesiastic State should be
 an Acquisition to the Church, and the rest
 of the Kingdom should be appropriated to
 the second Son of the King of *France*, who,
 because he was under Years, was, toge-
 ther with the Kingdom, till he came of
 mature Age, to be put under the Go-
 vernment of an Apostolical Legate, who
 was to reside in *Naples*. Besides this it
 was specified in the Treaty that the King
 should assist the Pontiff against the Sub-
 jects and Feudatories of the Apostolic See,
 which was an Article that concerned the
 Establishment of the States possessed by
 the Church, and had no less Regard to
 the Pope's immoderate Desire of acquiring
Ferrara.

AT this Juncture it happened very
 seasonably for these Purposes that the King
 of *France*, invited by the Opportunity of
 the Tumults in *Spain*, and encouraged,
 as he afterwards asserted in his Remon-
 strance,

A. D.

1521.

King of
France re-
 covers
Navarre.

A. D.

1521.

france, by the Pope, sent an Army under the Command of *Asparrot*, Brother of *Lautrech*, into *Navarre* to recover that Kingdom under the Dominion of the old King, and at the same time he sent Orders to *Robert de la Marche* and the Duke of *Guelderland* to begin Hostilities on the Borders of *Flanders*. The Divisions in *Spain* paved an easy Way for *Asparrot* to reconquer the Kingdom of *Navarre*, which was destitute of Defence, and where the Memory of the former King was not obliterated; and after that General had by the Force of his Artillery made himself Master of the Castle of *Pampelona*, he entered the Borders of the Kingdom of *Catalonia*, took Possession of *Fontarabia*, and made Incurfions as far as *Logroña**.

BUT

* *Catalonia* was never reckoned a Kingdom, but had only the Title of a Principality; and *Fontarabia* is not in *Catalonia*, but quite remote from it on the Western Ocean. But if for *Catalonia* we read *Aragon*, which was a Kingdom bordering on *Navarre*, and comprehending *Catalonia*, and suppose a Detachment sent to take Possession of *Fontarabia*, which lies in the Kingdom of *Gallicia*, the Sense will be clear, especially since it appears from the 11th Book that *Logroña* was in the Kingdom of *Aragon*, for which perhaps he might substitute *Catalonia* because it was the best Part of it.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

175

A. D.

1521.

BUT, as it often happens in human Affairs, what the Public had imagined as of Necessity prejudicial to *Cæsar* turned out to his Advantage. For the Affairs of *Spain*, which had hitherto been greatly embroiled by the various Progress of the civil Commotions, were fallen into a very turbulent and dangerous Situation, the Commonalty both high and low combining together on one side, and a great Number of Lords and People of Quality having taken up Arms in Behalf of *Cæsar*. The Nobility, out of a Concern for the Interest of the State, dreaded the popular Licentiousness, which hurried the Malecontents into open Rebellion, and, wanting a Head of Authority, they would have taken the Duke of *Calabria* out of the Castle of *Sciativa*; but he refused to bear Arms against *Cæsar*, and would not leave his Prison. But the Attack made on their own Kingdom by the King of *France* caused such Emotions in the Minds of the People, who had suffered without Displeasure the Loss of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, though

A. D.

1521.

Commo-
tions in
Spain ap-
peased.

though become by the Union made by the Catholic King a Member of their own Kingdoms, that partly for this Reason, and partly on account of some good Fortune obtained by the royal Army, the whole Kingdom of *Spain* was the more easily induced to lay aside their civil Contentions, and returned under Obedience to their King.

Swiss
make an
Alliance
with the
King of
France.

THE prosperous Success of the King of *France* in the easy Conquest of the Kingdom of *Navarre* was followed, had he known how to use the Opportunity, by a happier Event. For the *Swiss*, with whom resided his own Ambassadors and those of *Cæsar*, each carefully soliciting an Alliance with their respective Masters, contrary to the Opinion of many, and to their professed Intentions, rejected the Friendship of *Cæsar*, and embraced an Alliance with the King of *France*, obliging themselves to grant him Leave to list as many of their Men as he pleased, and for any Enterprize, and not to suffer any other Power to make Levies in their Country in order to be employed against that King.

THERE

THE WARS IN ITALY. 177

1521. A. D.

THERE remained the Execution of the Convention made at *Rome* between the Pope and the King of *France*, but when the King was requested to ratify it, he began to demur and stand in Suspense, for many had infused into him Suspicions that considering the Double-dealing of the Pope, and the Hatred which he had continually manifested to him since his Assumption to the Pontificate, there was Room to suspect some Treachery. It was not probable, they said, that the Pope desired that the Kingdom of *Naples* should come to him or to his Children, because if he had that Kingdom and the Dutchy of *Milan*, he would be too much afraid of his Power; certain it was at least that such great Benevolence, discovered all on a sudden, had something in it mysterious. He should take Heed therefore that he did not suffer in his Affairs from Frauds, and that while he was assuring himself of acquiring the Kingdom of *Naples* he did not lose the State of *Milan*. For if he sent an Army to *Naples* it would be in the Power of the Pontiff, who had Six Thousand *Swiss*,

A. D.

1521.

by holding Intelligence with the Emperor's Generals, to overthrow it; and if that Army was overthrown, what Defence was there left for *Milan*? Nor was it to be wondered that the Pope, who had attempted to dispossess him of that Dutchy by Force, should, in Despair of obtaining his Ends by any other Means, endeavour to deprive him of it by Fraud. These Reasons made such an Impression on the King that hesitating to ratify, and perhaps expecting an Answer on some other Negotiations, he sent no Advices to *Rome*, but left the Pope and his own Ambassadors in Suspense.

BUT the Pontiff, either because he was in reality, though governing himself by his usual Dissimulation, averse in his Heart to the King, or because, as soon as he saw the whole Time in which he could expect an Answer expired, suspecting the Reason, he was apprehensive that the King would discover his Negotiations to *Cæsar*, which might lay a Foundation for a Convention between them to his Prejudice, excited also by his ardent Desire to recover

Parma

THE WARS IN ITALY. 179

Parma and *Piacenza*, and to perform some memorable Exploit, and besides provoked by the Insolence of *Lautrech* and the Bishop of *Tarbe* his Minister, who would not admit into the State of *Milan* any of his Decrees, or Ecclesiastical Provisions, but rejected them with very scornful and insolent Speeches, resolved to enter into a Confederacy with *Cæsar* against the King of *France*. The Emperor irritated by the War of *Navarre*, stimulated by many of the *Milanese* Exiles, and excited also by many of his own Council, that were desirous to humble the Greatness of *Cheures*, who had always dissuaded a Separation from the King of *France*, determined to join in Alliance with the Pontiff against the King. What hastened his Resolution is supposed to be the Hopes that, by the Authority of the Pontiff together with his own, he might easily weaken the League made with the *Swiss* before it was consolidated by Gifts and Gratifications. And what induced the Pope to put the more Confidence in this Alliance was that *Cæsar*, after he had given an Hearing in the Diet of *Worms* to *Martin Luther*, whom

A. D.
1521.

Luther
under the
Imperial
Ban.

League
between
the Pope
and Em-
peror.

he had invited thither under a safe Con-
duct, and caused his Opinions to be ex-
amined by a Number of Divines, who
made their Report that his Doctrine was
erroneous, and pernicious to the Christian
Religion, had, to gratify the Pontiff, put
him under the Ban of the Empire; which
so terrified *Martin* that, if the injurious and
highly threatening Words which were
given him by the Cardinal of *San Sisto* the
Apostolical Legate had not thrown him
into the utmost Despair, it is believed it
would have been easy, by giving him some
Preferment, or providing for him some
honourable Way of Living, to make him
renounce his Errors. But however that
be, the Confederacy between the Pontiff
and the Emperor was concluded without
the Knowledge of *Cheures*, who had
hitherto exercised the greatest Authority
in such Affairs, and seasonably happened
to die about this Time. The League was
made for their common Defence, in-
cluding the House of the *Medici*, and the
Florentines, with an additional Contract;
that a War shall commence against the State
of *Milan* at such Time and in such Man-
ner

THE WARS IN ITALY. 181

ner as shall be agreed between the Parties: *A. D.*

That after its Acquisition *Parma* and *Pia-*

1521.

cenza shall be left to the Church to be held

by the same Title as in Times past: That

since *Francesco Sforza*, who was in Exile

at *Trent*, laid Claim to the State of *Milan*,

by Virtue of his Father's Investiture, and

his Brother's Renunciation, he shall be

put in Possession of it as soon as acquired,

and the Confederates shall be bound to

maintain and defend him in it: That no

other Salts shall be consumed in the Dutchy

of *Milan* than those of *Cervia*: And that

the Pope shall be permitted not only to

proceed against his own Subjects and Feu-

datories, but *Cæsar* also shall be obliged, as

soon as he has conquered the State of

Milan, to assist him against them, and par-

ticularly for the Acquisition of *Ferrara*.

The Tribute of the Kingdom of *Naples*

was raised, the Cardinal *de' Medici* was

promised a Pension of Ten Thousand

Ducats on the Archbishopric of *Toledo*,

newly vacant, and an Estate of the yearly

Revenue of Ten Thousand Ducats in the

Kingdom of *Naples* was to be settled on

Alessandro de' Medici, natural Son of *Lo-*

renzo late Duke of *Urbino*.

A. D.

1521.

Rights of
the Em-
pire on
the
Dutchy
of Milan.

FOR the better Elucidation of these Affairs it seems necessary to give some short Account of the Rights which *Cæsar* pretended the Empire had at that Time upon the Dutchy of *Milan*. It was asserted on the Part of *Cæsar* that the antient Rights of the Dukes of *Orleans* to that State were of no Validity, because the Contract of the Succession of *Madame Valentine* had not been confirmed by the Imperial Authority; and that at present it belonged immediately to the Empire, because the Investiture made to *Lodovico Sforza* for himself and his Sons had been revoked by his Grandfather *Maximilian* with an Amplification of so many Clauses that the Revocation had judicially taken Effect to the Prejudice especially of the Sons, who never having been in Possession had a Right only in Expectation, but not in Fact. Wherefore the Investiture made to King *Lewis* for himself and his Daughter *Claude* would have been valid in case she had been married to *Charles*, and with a Condition that if the Marriage did not follow without any Fault of *Charles*, it should be void, and that

Milan

THE WARS IN ITALY.

183

Milan should directly pass to *Charles*, who in such a Case was invested with it in the Presence of *Philip* his Father. From the Premises it was inferred that the second Investiture made to the said King *Lewis*, for himself, for the said *Claude*, and for *Angoulesme* was of no Validity to the Prejudice of *Charles* the Pupil, and constituted under the Tutition of *Maximilian*; and the present King having no Foundation for any Claim on account of this Investiture, much less could he alledge that this Dutchy belonged to him by new Rights, because he had neither obtained nor demanded the Investiture of *Cæsar*; and it was manifest that the Cession made by *Massimiliano Sforza* when he surrendered to him the Castle of *Milan* could do him no Service, because a Fief alienated by private Authority reverts immediately to the supreme Lord; and because *Massimiliano*, tho' admitted by Consent of *Cæsar*, dying in that State without ever receiving the Investiture, could not transfer to others those Rights which never belonged to himself.

A. D.

1521.

Designs of
the Pope
and *Cæsar*.
against the
King of
France.

THE Confederacy being thus made, tho' very privately, between the Pontiff and *Cæsar* against the King of *France*, it was resolved between them, before they proceeded to open Acts of Hostility, to make an Attempt either by secret Conspiracy or sudden Attack, with the Help of some Exiles, both at once on *Milan* and *Genoa*. Orders were therefore given for *Cæsar's* Gallies, which were at *Naples*, and those of the Pope to present themselves on a sudden in the Port of *Genoa* with Two Thousand *Spanish* Foot on board, conveying also *Girolamo Adorno*, by Means of whose Authority and Attendance, the Partisans of the *Adorni* in the *Rivieras* putting themselves in Motion at the same Time by his Procurement, they were in Hopes of exciting an Insurrection in that City. On the other Hand *Francesco Sforza* and *Girolamo Morone*, who resided with him at *Trent*, with many of the principal Exiles, were consulting on a Method for suddenly attacking the *French* Troops in their Quarters at *Parma*, *Piacenza* and *Cremona*, and the

THE WARS IN ITALY.

185

the same was to be attempted in *Milan*; and that *Manfredi Palavicino*, and *Matto di Brinzi*, Head of a Party in those Mountains; should convey some German Foot by the Lake of *Como* for attacking that City, where it was assured he held secret Intelligence; and that if these Enterprises succeeded, or any one of the most important, the *Milaneſe* Exiles, who were many of them Persons of Quality, and were privately to remove their Quarters to *Reggio*, where *Girolamo Morone* was to be on a Day appointed, should put themselves in Motion for entering the State of *Milan* with Three Thousand Foot, who were to be got ready as soon as possible. For this Purpose the Pope remitted Ten Thousand Ducats to *Fran- cesco Guicciardini*, who had been many Years Governor of *Modena* and *Reggio*, with Orders to give them to *Morone*, for making secret Levies of Foot to be in Readiness on the Success of these Undertakings, which *Guicciardini* favoured, but privately, and in such a Manner, that the King of *France* had no Reason to complain of the Conduct of his Officers, or inter-pret

A. D.

1521.

A. D.

1521.

pret the Pope's Designs to his Disadvantage.

Prove all
abortive.

BUT every one of these Enterprises miscarried: The Fleet that went to *Genoa*, composed of seven light Gallies, four Brigantines, and some other Vessels, in vain presented itself before the Port; for the Doge *Fregoso*, forewarned of their Coming, had seasonably provided the Town, on which the Squadron perceiving no Commotion or Alteration, retired to the Eastern *Riviera*. And in *Lombardy* many of the Exiles talking too freely of the Designs that were in Agitation, and that *Girolamo Morone* was to come to *Reggio*, it came to the Ears of *Federigo da Bozzolo*, who went to *Milan* and notified it to *L'Escud*, who supplied in *Milan* the Place of his Brother, departed not long before to *France*. *L'Escud* calling together the Men at Arms, who were quartered in different Places, and giving Orders to *Federigo* to lead One Thousand Foot from his own Castles, immediately marched with Four Hundred Lances for *Parma*, assuring himself every Step of the

THE WARS IN ITALY. 187

the Way more and more of the Truth of *A. D.*
 what *Federigo* had reported to him. For *1521.*
 the Exiles not observing the Orders which
 had been given them to assemble them-
 selves in private, had openly marched to
Reggio, making Demands of Men in all
 the circumjacent Places, and giving mani-
 fest Signs that they were to attempt Inno-
 vations without Delay. And *Girolamo*
Morone, who arrived after them, continued
 in the same Way of Proceeding, induced,
 perhaps, because the more openly he pro-
 ceeded, the more Enmity he would breed
 between the Pontiff and the King.

THE Vanity of these Devices was
 already apparent to all, and yet *L'Escud*
 being arrived at *Parma* resolved the next
 Morning on the Day solemnized for the
 Birth of *St. John the Baptist* to present
 himself before the Gates of *Reggio*, in
 Hopes of an Opportunity of taking all or
 Part of the Exiles, either imagining that
 as soon as they perceived his Coming
 they would fly out of the Town, or that,
 because there were no foreign Soldiers in
 the Place, the Governor, a Man of a
 Pro-

A. D. Profession quite different from that of
 1521. Arms, would in a Fright deliver them up
 as Prisoners, or perhaps hoping that the
 Consternation of the Inhabitants might
 give him an Opportunity to enter the
 City. The Governor had some Fore-
 sight of this, and tho', the Attack of *Genoa*
 not being as yet known, it did not seem
 probable to him that *L'Escud* would,
 without the King's Orders, in a manner
 begin a War by entering in an hostile
 Way the Dominions of the Pope, yet
 considering how frequently the Impetuosi-
 ty of the *French* carries them beyond due
 Bounds, he immediately sent an Express
 to *Guido Rangone*, who was in the *Mode-
 nese*, to desire him to hasten that same
 Night to *Reggio*; he ordered that Part of
Morone's Foot which were quartered in
 the nearest Places to come also that Night
 into the Place, and the People of the
 Town whom he knew to have an Aversion
 to the *French*, to repair, at the Sound of
 a Bell to the Guard of the Gates, assign-
 ing to every one his Charge. *L'Escud*
 came the next Morning with Four Hun-
 dred Lances, followed, but at some Miles
 distance,

L'Escud
 comes
 before
Reggio.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 189

distance, by *Federigo da Bozzolo* with One A. D.
1521.
Thousand Foot. As soon as he approach-
ed the Town he sent *Bonneval*, one of his
Officers, to the Governor to demand a
Parley, and it was agreed that *L'Escud*
should come to the Wicket that opens
into the Ravelin of the Gate that looks
towards *Parma*, and that the Governor
should repair to the same Place, each of
them taking the other's Word for his Se-
curity. *L'Escud* came according to Ap-
pointment, and dismounting, attended by
several Gentlemen, approached the Wicket
at which the Governor went forth, and
they began to enter into Discourse; one
complaining that Reception and Encou-
agement were given to Exiles assembled
to disturb the Peace of the King's Domi-
nions in the Towns of the Church, con-
trary to the Articles of the Confederacy;
the other, that *L'Escud* had with an
armed Force suddenly entered the State of
the Church.

Parleys
with the
Governor.

AT this Juncture some of the People
having, contrary to Orders, opened one
of the Gates for introducing a Waggon
loaded with Meal, and the Troops of
L'Escud

A. D.
1521.

His
Design
defeated.

L'Escud being dispersed about the Wall, and surrounding Part of it, *Bonneval*, who stood over against the Gate that was opened, spurred forward with some Men at Arms to gain an Entrance. But he was repulsed, and the Gate shut in a great Hurry and Bustle, the Noise of which reaching the Place where *L'Escud* and the Governor were in Conference, was the Occasion that the Townsmen and some of the Exiles who covered the Walls of the Ravelin discharged their Pieces against those that stood near to *L'Escud*, and mortally wounded *Alessandro da Trivulzi*, who died two Days after, certainly deserving a better Fate because he had dissuaded the Coming before *Reggio*. The rest fled, and nothing saved *L'Escud* but the Fear of those who wanted to fire at him lest they should hit the Governor. But he was in a great Consternation, and complaining that Faith had been broken with him, knew not how to resolve on Staying or Flying, when the Governor took him by the Hand, and encouraging him, upon his Word of Honour, to follow him, led him into the Ravelin, accompanied by none of his
At-

THE WARS IN ITALY. 191

Attendants but *La Motte* a French Gentle- A. D. 1521.
man. And it is surprising that all the
Men at Arms, as soon as they understood
that *L'Escud* was entered within the
Wall, the Word passing among them that
he had been made a Prisoner, betook
themselves to Flight in such a Panic that
many of them threw away their Lances
on the Road. Very few indeed waited
for *L'Escud*, who after a long Conference,
and being certified that the Disorder was
occasioned by his own Men, was dis-
missed by the Governor, as well out of
Regard to his Word of Honour as to the
Instructions that he had received from the
Pontiff to make no Show of any Design
against the King, for which Reasons he
did not think proper to detain him.
Neither would the keeping him a Prisoner
have been followed, as many at that time
imagined, by a Revolt of the State of
Milan; for the Men at Arms, tho' put
to Flight, having none to pursue them,
because there were but very few Horse in
Reggio, and meeting on the Borders of
the *Reggian* with *Federigo da Bozzolo*,
who was advancing forwards with One
Thousand Foot, stopped, and drew up in
Order;

A. D.

1521.

Order, and the Terror, which had begun to spread itself in *Parma* and *Milan* on the first Advices that *L'Escud* was a Prisoner, and the Men at Arms routed, would have made no further Progress, after Intelligence had been received that the Men at Arms were in Safety, especially since there was no Army near at Hand nor Force sufficient to cause any Movement, and there remained many other Officers of Men at Arms in those Cities. *L'Escud*, after assembling his Horse and Foot, retired to *Coriagio*, a Village in the *Reggian*, six Miles from *Reggio*, from whence after a few Days he retired over the *Lenza* into the *Parmesan*, having dispatched *La Motte* to *Rome* to justify to the Pontiff the Reasons of his March to *Reggio*, and to make Instances with his Holiness that, in pursuance of the Articles of the Confederacy between the King and himself, he would expel the King's rebellious Subjects out of the State of the Church.

Sad Accident in
Milan.

BUT an Accident that about this Time happened at *Milan* greatly dejected the Spirits

THE WARS IN ITALY. 193

Spirits of the *French*, as if Heaven fore-
warned them by manifest Signs of their
future Calamities. For on the Day so-
lemnised in Memory of the Death of the
Prince of the Apostles, the Sun being just
set in a clear Sky, there fell from on high
through the Air as it were a Fire before
the Gate of the Castle, where lay a Num-
ber of Barrels of Gunpowder that were
brought out of the Castle in order to be
sent to certain Fortresses, which were
kindled by it, and blew up with a vast
Noise, and horrible Shock, that ruined
to the very Foundation a Tower of very
beautiful Marble erected over the Gate
with a Clock on its Top, and not only
the Tower but the Walls and Chambers
of the Castle, and other Buildings con-
tiguous to the Tower, the inconceivable
Violence of the Blast, and the Fall of
such great Fabrics at the same time shaking
all the Edifices of the Castle, and the
whole City of *Milan*. Huge Stones and
Masses from the Ruins were whirled with
incredible Force this Way and that Way
through the Air in a frightful Manner.
Multitudes were wounded by the Reper-

A. D.
1521.

A. D.

1521.

cussion of the Stones, and others buried under the Ruins, with which the Square before the Castle was covered to such a Degree that it was quite astonishing to see such a Heap of Stones, some of which of a vast Bigness were blown to the Distance of above Five Hundred Paces. And it happening to be the proper Time when the Men, to refresh themselves after the Heat of the Day, were walking and passing through the Square, above One Hundred and Fifty of the Garrison perished, and the Governors of the Fort and Castle, and the rest of the Soldiers were so astonished, and deprived of Courage and Counsel, and so great a Length of the Wall was fallen down, that it would have been very easy for the People, had they made any Commotion, to have seized that Night on the Castle.

BUT the Pontiff, as soon as he had Advice of the Appearance of *L'Escud* before the Gates of *Reggio*, embracing the Opportunity to justify his own Actions, made most grievous Complaints of the Insult in the Consistory of Cardinals, and

con-

concealing the Confederacy which he had already before privately contracted with *Cæſar*, with the Orders given for their Gallies to act in Conjunction againſt *Genoa*, repreſented that the Deſign of *L'Eſcad* to ſeize on *Reggio* was a Demonſtration of the evil Diſpoſition of the King of *France* towards the Apoſtolic See, for which Reaſon he was under a Neceſſity of providing for its Defence by entering into an Alliance with *Cæſar*, who had never yet diſcovered any Diſpoſitions but ſuch as were worthy of a Chriſtian Prince, as well in all his other Actions, as in his late Zeal ſhown at *Worms* when he ſo ardently undertook the Patronage of Religion. Thus pretending to contract anew with *Don Giovanni Manuello*, Ambaſſador of *Cæſar*, the Confederacy which had been contracted before; they immediately called to *Rome Proſpero Colonna*, to whom they agreed to commit the Management of the Enterpriſe, in order to conſult with him by what Methods and with what Forces they had beſt to act in open Hoſtilities, ſince Plots and Surpriſes had proved unſucceſſful. For neither had the Plot of *Como* it ſeems taken

A. D.

1521.

Deſign on
Como miſ-
carries.

A. D. Effect, where *Manfredo Palavicino* and
 1521. *Matto di Brinzi* with Eight Hundred Ger-
 man and Italian Foot had approached the
 Walls by Night, in Hopes that *Antonio*
Rusco, a Burgher of that City, would
 break down so much of the Wall near the
 House in which he lived, as would give
 them an Entrance into the Town, where,
 because there were but few French, they
 imagined they should meet with no Re-
 sistance. But after they had waited a long
 Time to no Purpose, the Governor of the
 Town assembling all the French, and such
 of the *Comeſe* as he thought best affected,
 made a sudden Attack on those without,
 though much superior in Number, and
 put them to Flight with so much Ease,
 that many believed he had corrupted the
 Commander of the Germans with Money
 and Promises. Three Boats were sunk in
 the Lake, seven taken, and many of the
 Enemy, among whom were *Manfredi* and
Matto, in their Flight by the Way of
 the Mountains. All the German Foot
 were set at Liberty, but the others were
 conducted to *Milan*, where *Manfredi* and
Matto were publicly quartered, having
 first

THE WARS IN ITALY. 197

first confessed that *Bartolomeo Ferrero*, a *Milaneſe*, a Perſon of conſiderable Intereſt, A. D. 1521. was privy to the Conſpiracy carried on by *Morone*. *Ferrero* was imprifoned together with his Son, and condemned to the ſame Punifhment, for not diſcovering the ſecret Correſpondence held by *Morone* for effecting a Revolution, and raiſing a Rebellion againſt the King.

At this Time the Pope, knowing the great Conveniencies of the State of *Mantoua* for carrying on a War in *Lombardy*, took into his Service under the Title of Captain General of the Church *Federigo* Marquis of *Mantoua* with Two Hundred Men at Arms and Two Hundred light Horſe. But the Marquis, before he entered into the Pope's Pay, renounced the Order of *St. Michael* with which he had been inveſted by the King of *France*, to whom he ſent back the Collar and the Badge which the King preſents to thoſe who are taken into that Order.

But at *Rome*, where Conſultations were held on the Order and Method of proceeding

A. D.

1521.

Resolu-
tions of
the Pope
and *Cæsar*
on the
War a-
gainst
France.

ceeding in the War, it was resolved by the Pope and the Imperial Ambassador, with the Advice of *Prospero Colonna*, that the State of *Milan* should be attacked as soon as possible from the Borders of the Ecclesiastic Dominions by the Men at Arms of the Pope and of the *Florentines*. The Number of those Troops, including those brought into the Service by the Marquis of *Mantoua*, amounted to Six Hundred effective Men; and they were to be joined by the Men at Arms which *Cæsar* had in the Kingdom of *Naples*, who were about the same Number. It was resolved also to raise Six Thousand *Italian* Foot, and that the Army, which was to assemble between the *Modenese* and the *Reggian* should be reinforced by the Two Thousand *Spanish* Foot that were with *Adorno* in the *Riviera of Genoa*, and Two Thousand others that the Marquis of *Pescara* was to lead from the Kingdom of *Naples*; to take into Pay, at the joint Expence of the Pontiff and *Cæsar*, Four Thousand *German* Foot, and Two Thousand *Grisons*, to which were to be added Two Thousand *Swiss* who had voluntarily remained in the Service

THE WARS IN ITALY. 199

Service of the Pontiff, for the rest being A. D.
1521.
tired with so long a State of Inaction, and their Time of Harvest approaching, were returned to their own Habitations before *L'Escad* came to *Reggio*, the Pope in vain endeavouring to retain them after they had cost him an Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats to no Purpose. Moreover, it was determined that besides these Preparations Instances should be made with the *Swiss* Cantons, by the Authority of the Pontiff and *Cæsar*, for Leave to hire a Body of Six Thousand of their Foot, which was no more than what they were obliged to grant by the Conventions which the Pope had made with them, and that they would refuse the King of *France* the same Liberty, the Pontiff alledging that his Confederacy with them was of a longer Date than that which they had contracted with the King. It was further resolved, if these Demands should be granted, to attack the Dutchy of *Milan* on the Side towards *Como*, where it was hoped that an Insurrection might be easily excited by the great Number of Exiles of very honourable Families, and because the Affection which

A. D. 1521. the People used to bear to the Name of King *Lewis* was changed into a great Degree of Hatred, since the Men at Arms which were disposed in their ordinary Stations for the Guard of that State, being but ill paid on account of the Disorders in the Finances of the King, who, partly out of Necessity, partly from Choice, had overburthen'd himself with extraordinary Expences, lived in a very licentious Manner. Nor did the royal Governors, presuming on the King's Negligence, administer that Justice which used to be administered in the Time of the late King, who having a great Affection for the Dutchy of *Milan* had always taken a particular Care of its Interests. It bore hard also upon the People that they were constrained, after the Custom of *France*, to lodge the *French* Officers and Soldiers in their own Houses, and though it was not at their own Expence, yet being perpetual it was become highly inconvenient and troublesome. And though it might be alledged that they had supported the same Burden in the Time of the late King, who, excusing himself by the Example of the City

City of *Paris*, had never been pleased to exempt the *Milaneſe* from this Inconvenience, yet being attended with the aforementioned Grievances, it ſeemed at preſent more inſupportable. To all this was added the Nature of the People, who are deſirous of Novelties, and the Inclination which Men have to free themſelves from preſent Troubles, which is ſo ardent as to make them diſcard all Care and Conſideration of future Events.

THE Fame of the War reſolved by the Pope and *Cæſar* with ſuch powerful Preparations coming to the Ears of the King of *France* conſtrained him to make no leſs powerful Proviſions for the Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan*. And the firſt Step to be taken for this Purpoſe was that *Lautrech*, who was come to Court on his private Concerns, ſhould immediately return to *Milan*. That General, ſuſpecting the Inconſtancy and Negligence of the King and the Miniſtry, at firſt reſuſed to go unleſs there were paid him down in ready Money Three Hundred Thouſand Ducats, which he affirmed would ſuffice for

A. D. 1521. for the Defence of that State; but at length being prevailed on by the earnest Instances of the King and his Mother, and deceived by their Word of Honour which they had given him, and by the Ministers who were at the Head of the Administration of the Finances, who had made him believe that he should find the Money he demanded in readiness on his first Arrival at *Milan*, he returned with the utmost Expedition to that City, and with great Sollicitude made the necessary Provisions for the Defence of that Dutchy. For this End he had resolved, with the King's Approbation, that the royal Men at Arms which were at that Time in *Lombardy* should be joined by the Six Hundred Men at Arms and Six Thousand Foot that were to be furnished according to Treaty by the *Venetians*, who readily offered them, and had already put in Motion their Men at Arms in the *Veronese* and *Brescian*. They had determined also to list a Body of Ten Thousand *Swiss*, assuring themselves that they should not be refused that Liberty on account of the new Confederacy, and to cause Six Thousand Volunteers to pass

THE WARS IN ITALY. 203

pass from *France* into *Italy*, there to be joined by a Number of *Italian* Foot. Thus

A. D.

1521.

provided they were in Hopes either of being in a Condition to venture without much Hazard the Fortune of a Battle, or if their Force should be too weak for an Engagement, that at least it would be sufficient for providing the Towns with competent Garrisons, and by temporising on the Defence to tire out the Enemies; one of whom by his natural Prodigality, and Expences in the War of *Urbino*, was exhausted of Money; and the other, it was believed, could not be supplied from his Kingdoms with Treasure sufficient for long supporting so burdensome a War. Besides, they imagined that *Alfonso da Este*, in Despair of his own State if the Pope should obtain the Victory, would either put himself in Motion to recover his lost Territories, or at least, by keeping himself in Arms, would hold the Pope in such Suspense as would necessitate him to leave a good Number of Soldiers for the Security of the Towns in the Neighbourhood of his Dominions. Such were the Resolutions and Preparations on both sides, the

King,

A. D. 1521. King, however, in the mean time omitting no Care or Fatigue, though all in vain, to mitigate the Spirit of the Pontiff.

The Ar-
mies take
the Field.

PROSPERO COLONNA was at that Time in *Bologna*, where, without waiting for the Troops that were to come from the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the German Infantry, he assembled the other Forces, and leaving sufficient Garrisons in *Modena*, *Reggio*, *Bologna*, *Ravenna* and *Imola*, out of a Suspicion of the Duke of *Ferrara*, he came to an Encampment on the River *Lenza*, five Miles from *Parma*, full of Hopes that the *French* would not be able to obtain any Troops of the *Swiss*, and that by this Means, and by the Disaffection of the People, they would be obliged to think rather of abandoning than of defending the State of *Milan*. But it happened otherwise, for the Cantons, contrary to the most pressing Instances of the Cardinal of *Sion*, and of the Ambassadors of the Pontiff and *Cæsar*, resolved to grant the King the Troops with which they were bound to furnish him by the Articles of the last Convention, and while they were getting

getting in Readiness *Giorgio Soprasasso* was
arrived at *Milan* with Four Thousand Foot
of the *Vallesi*. *Lautrech* therefore willing
to defend *Parma* had sent thither his Bro-
ther *L'Escud* with Four Hundred Lances,
and Five Thousand *Italian* Foot com-
manded by *Federigo da Bozzolo*. He was
assured also that the *Venetians* were assem-
bling their Troops at *Ponte Vico* in order
to march to the Assistance of the *French*,
and that the Duke of *Ferrara* was lifting
Foot. Wherefore *Prospero* being sensible
that he wanted a greater Force, rested
seven Days in his Camp, in which Time
he was joined by Four Hundred *Spanish*
Lances commanded by *Antonio da Leva*,
which came from the Kingdom of *Naples*,
and by the Marquis of *Mantua* with Part
of his Troops. The Arrival, however of
the Marquis, Captain General of all the
Forces of the Church, made no Alteration
in the Authority of *Prospero Colonna*, in
whose Person it had pleased the Pontiff and
Cæsar that the Government of the whole
Army, though without any Title, should
reside; or rather the supreme Power of
commanding all the Troops of the Church,
and

A. D. 1521. and the Marquis of *Mantova* in particular was in *Francesco Guicciardini*, who had the Title of Commissary General of the Army, but with a very ample Authority above what is usually conferred on Commissaries.

AFTER this *Prospero Colonna* advanced with his Army to *St. Lazzaro*, a Mile from *Parma*, on the Road that leads to *Reggio*, with a Resolution to proceed no further till the Arrival of the Marquis of *Pescara*, who was expected from the Kingdom of *Naples* with Three Hundred Lances, and Two Thousand Spanish Foot, and till he was also joined by the German Infantry. All this while they did no other Damage to the *Parmesans* than by labouring to turn the Course of the Waters, and to break the Mills, so as to render it difficult for them to grind their Corn. But the Expectations of the Public depended on the Arrival of the Germans, against whom the *Venetians*, at the Instances of the *French*, sent Part of their Troops into the *Veronese* to prevent their Passage; for they were come as far

as *Innsbruck*, where they insisted on receiving their first Month's Pay at *Trent*,
 and to be met at the Foot of the Mountain of *Monte Baldo*, which was the Road they said they would take, by a Body of Cavalry, under whose Escort they might advance forwards with the greater Security. Wherefore *Prospero* had sent to *Mantoua* Two Hundred light Horse, which was to join Two Thousand Foot levied in the *Mantouan*, and to march forwards with the Artillery of the Marquis, who, to gratify the Pontiff and *Cæsar*, acted, in all Respects, as if it were his own Cause, and not as a Mercenary. It was more difficult to pay the *Germans* at *Trent*, for tho' the Pope disbursed the Money for *Cæsar* as well as his own Share, it could not be conveyed through the Territories of the *Venetians* without great Danger. The *Germans* after this being advised of the Opposition of the *Venetians* demanded greater Assistance, varying also in the Time of passing the Mountains, and beginning their March. On this Account the Marquis of *Pescara*, who was arrived in the *Modenese* turned his March into the *Mantouan*,

A. D. 1521. *toulan*, whither also Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Three Hundred *Spanish* Foot were sent from the Camp. At last the *Germans* themselves, impatient of waiting the Time which they had signified, sent new Advice that they would anticipate five Days, declaring also that they would wait but one Day for the Arrival of the Horse at the Foot of *Monte Baldo*, and that if these Troops did not arrive they would march back again. It being impracticable for the Marquis of *Pescara* to be there at the Time required, it was necessary for *Guido Rangone* and *Luigi da Gonzaga* to march thither with all possible Speed from the Camp. But all this Trouble and Hurry were needless; for, as *Prospero* had always declared, the *Venetians* had it not in their Power to hinder the Passage of Six Thousand Foot, for so many in Number were these Troops, consisting of *Germans* and *Grisons*, whose firm and close Array would have sustained the Attacks of their Horse, and the *Italian* Foot would not have had the Boldness to look them in the Face. For this Reason, and because the Senate, who shunned all

Oc-

THE WARS IN ITALY. 209

Occasions of bringing the War into their own Territories, chose rather to satisfy the *French* with Shews than Effects, the Forces of the *Venetians*, on the Day before the *Germans* were to pass, retired towards *Verona*; the *Germans* then proceeded to *Valeggio* without Opposition, and the next Day entered the *Mantouan*. But when the Marquis of *Pescara* was arrived in the Camp, the Army, which had rested thirteen Days at *St. Lazzaro*, marched the next Day and encamped at *San Martino*, where they were the same Day joined by the *Germans* and *Grisons*.

A. D.
1521.

Germans
join the
Army of
the
League.

ALL the Forces that were designed being thus assembled together, Consultations began to be held on their future Proceedings. Some in Council proposed as most expedient the making themselves Masters of *Parma*, because it was the first Town of the Frontier, and if it was left behind their Backs the Army could not with Safety march forwards, on account of the Difficulty of supplying the Camp with Victuals, and the Danger of having their Convoys of Money and other

Siege of
Parma
proposed
and re-
jected.

A. D.
1521.

necessary Provisions intercepted by the Enemy; besides, the Towns between *Parma* and *Bologna* would lie too open, and exposed to many Inconveniences. The Troops that were in *Parma*, they said, consisting for the most part of Men levied in Haste, were but of little Value, and of these some every Day fled out of the Town, on account of the Difficulty of Pay, and the Scarcity of Meal in the Place. The City was of a great Compass, and the People disaffected, and, tho' disheartened, ready to resume fresh Spirits whenever they should perceive the Approach of an Army to their Walls, so that if the Place were attacked on several Quarters at once, it would be difficult for the *French* to resist the Assaults of the Enemy from without, and at the same Time to secure themselves from the Com-motions of the Populace within. Others alledged that the City was well fortified, and had a sufficient Garrison; that the Foot which deserted were of no Value nor Service, but the most useful and expert Infantry remained in the Place, besides a good Number of *French* Lances,

all

THE WARS IN ITALY. 211

all disposed to make a vigorous Defence, *A. D.*
 for otherwise *L'Escud*, *Federigo da Boz-* 1521
zolo, and so many other great Officers
 would not have shut themselves up within
 that City: That the Conquest of Towns,
 on account of the Alterations that have
 within a short Space of Time been made
 in the Methods of War, and in the Art
 of defending Places, is well known to
 have become more difficult: That it ought
 carefully to be considered how greatly the
 Army would suffer in its Reputation if it
 failed of Success in its first Enterprize:
 That every one must presuppose it necessary
 for the Artillery to be planted against
Parma at two different Places. But where
 could they find in the Camp the Artillery
 and the other Provisions in sufficient
 Quantities for that Purpose? And they
 could not be conveyed thither in less Time
 than some Days, which Delay, besides
 their having wasted too much Time al-
 ready, would give an Opportunity for
Lautrech, who was every Day expected
 at *Cremona*, to join the *Venetian* Troops
 and a greater Number of *Swiss*, Part of
 them being already arrived, and with the

A. D.

1521.

Volunteer Foot which were expected from France, and were reported to be all near at Hand. What should they do if, while the Army was busily employed about *Parma*, *Lautrec* should come and post himself in some neighbouring Place, whence, without suffering himself to be forced to a Battle, he might annoy our Convoys of Forage and Provisions which are every Day coming from *Reggio*, and have already received continual Molestations from the Garrison of *Parma*? It was more advisable therefore to provide the Camp with Victuals for some Days, and leaving *Parma* behind to march on a sudden to *Piacenza*, which, tho' a City of much greater Compass, had but a small Garrison, and no Fortifications or Artillery, and where the People were of the same Disposition as those in *Parma* but more at Liberty to make it known, not having been under the same Depression and Restraint as the others, and there being also so inconsiderable a Number of Troops in the Place, it was not to be doubted but that they might immediately take it on the first Approach. *Prospero* was

THE WARS IN ITALY. 213

was much inclined to this Advice, and declared that he knew a Place where it would be impossible to stop his Entrance, and that it was the same by which formerly *Francesco Sforza*, at that time General of the *Milaneſe*, victoriously forced his Way into the City againſt the *Venetians* who had ſeized on it after the Death of *Filippo Maria Viſconti*: That there was a vaſt Plenty of Proviſions in *Piacenza*, and that the Place lay ſo convenient for attacking *Milan* that the *French* would be neceſſitated to draw almoſt their whole Force to that Capital, by which Means the Cities in the Neighbourhood of *Parma* would be freed from Danger, and, what is more, *Proſpero* promiſed himſelf that if he paſſed the *Po* only with the light Horſe, and advanced with all Speed to *Milan*, that City at the Sound of his Name would make an Inſurrection. And this was the Scheme he had laid even before his Departure from *Bologna*, in purſuance of which, as he thought he ſhould have no Occaſion for beſieging any Town, he had neglected to provide himſelf

A. D. self with an extraordinary Quantity of
1521. Artillery and Ammunition.

IN this Variety of Opinions it was determined; but very secretly, by those who had Authority to pass a Resolution; that, as soon as the Army was provided with Bread and Meal sufficient to subsist them for four Days, Five Hundred Men at Arms, Part of the light Horse, the *Spanish* Infantry, and Fifteen Hundred *Italian* Foot, should advance with the utmost Expedition to *Piacenza*, to be followed by the rest of the Army, which, on account of bringing along the Artillery, Provisions, and of so many other Incumbrances, could proceed but slowly. And it was firmly believed that on the Arrival of the first Part of the Forces the City would immediately cry up the Name of the Church, and if that should not succeed, all Succours at least would be by their Means prevented from entering the Place, so that when the rest of the Army came up they might without Doubt make themselves Masters of the Town. But it happened that on the Day preceding that in which the Army

was

THE WARS IN ITALY. 215

was to move some *French* Horse passing the *Po* made an Excursion as far as *Basseto*, whence a Report was spread that the whole *French* Army had passed the *Po*, which prevented the aforesaid Resolution from taking Effect, and delayed the Departure of the Troops till the Truth should be discovered, for which Purpose *Giovanni de' Medici*, Commander of the Pope's light Horse, was ordered out with Four Hundred Horse to get Intelligence. But what principally confounded this Resolution was the ambitious Emulation that arose between *Prospero* and the Marquis of *Pescara*, between whom, even before this Time, there was no good Harmony. *Prospero* proposed to lead the first Part of the Army himself, and the Marquis on the other Side alledged that the *Spanish* Infantry, of which he was Captain General, should not go on any Expedition without him. By means of this Emulation between the Generals, which is often prejudicial to the Affairs of Princes, it happened that, though it was known but a few Hours after that the *French* Detachment was returned on the other Side the

A. D.

1521.

Design on
Piacenza
laid aside.

A. D. 1521. *Po*, and that *Lautrech* made no Motion,

yet the first Resolution was not executed; but rather, on the contrary, through the Difference of Opinions, and the natural Slowness of *Prospero*, the Time of Inaction would have been spun out to a greater Length, if the Apostolical Commissary had not stimulated the Generals by pathetic Speeches to push the War with Vigour, remonstrating to them how much the Pope, and justly, was displeased at the Slowness of their Proceeding, and that they had now no Excuse to plead with him for such unreasonable Dilatoriness, which had been hitherto tolerated in Expectation first of the *Spaniards*, and afterwards of the *Germans*. The Commissary had hardly ended his Admonitions when it was resolved, rather by a kind of hasty Impulse than from mature Counsel, to lay Siege to *Parma*, the same Persons who had but the Day before been of a contrary Opinion, being now confident that a happy Issue of the Enterprize might justly be expected, especially from the continual Desertion of great Numbers of Foot from *Parma* for Want of Pay and Bread. But it was necessary
to

to interpose a further Delay of some Days ^{4 D.} for conveying two more Cannon from Bo- ^{1531.}logna, and providing many Things necessary for a formal Siege of Towns with Artillery, which *Prospero*. as we said before, had rejected. This Neglect, or Alteration of the Resolution, was of vast Detriment to the Enterprize, for it gave *Lautrech* the more Time to assemble the Forces which he expected from *France*, from the *Venetians*, and from the *Swiss*. So much is it the Duty of wise Generals, who consider how often it may be necessary in Wars to alter Resolutions according to the Variety of Accidents, to make Provisions in the Beginning as much as possible accommodated to all Incidents and to all Counsels. While the Army lay idle nothing passed about *Parma* but very slight Skirmishes.

At last, on the thirteenth Day of their Encampment at *San Martino*, the Army ^{Siege of Parma.} passed the River of *Parma* in the Night, and encamped on the *Roman Road* in the Suburbs of the Gate called *Santa Croce* that leads to *Piacenza*, which *L'Escud* had the

A. D. the Day before, on foreseeing the Enemy's Coming, caused to be burnt. The City of *Parma* is divided by a River of the same Name; whose Waters are not so deep but that it may at any Time, except in very rainy Seasons, be forded. The lesser Part, which is about a Third of the Whole, is inhabited by the meaner Sort of People, who call it *Codiponte*, and is situated towards *Piacenza*. The Generals chose this Place as most convenient for preventing Succours from entering *Parma*, and much more because the Wall was weak on that Side, and situated in such a Manner that it could not take the Besiegers in Flank. The Marquis, who had the Day before gone with some Officers to take a View of the Place, reported that it was practicable to begin with battering the Wall that same Day; but it having been necessary, in order to ruin the Defences, first to batter down a Tower that stood over the Gate, and was very strong and thick, a whole Day was spent about it, during which a large Culverin burst. The Night following the Cannon were planted against the Wall on the Left of the Gate,

THE WARS IN ITALY. 219

as you go in, and it was designed to do the same on the Right, leaving the Gate in the Middle between the battered Places. But it being impossible for the Besiegers to plant Artillery in two separate Places because they had brought with them no more than six Cannon and two large Culverins, it was imagined that this Method, by forcing the Garrison to extend themselves through one long Space in order to their Defence, would in a Manner produce the same Effect. But this was not put in Execution, because on that Side there was, on the Brink of the Ditch that surrounded the Walls, a Bank, so high, that, before it was levelled or opened, which could not be done in a short Time, it would prevent the Artillery from striking the Wall*. The Battery did great Execution on the Wall, which was old, and very weak, and two Breaches being made of sufficient Breadth, the Generals talked of storming the Place the same Day, but came to no firm Resolution. But the Marquis, who

A. D. 1521.

* This Piece of Fortification appears to be much the same with what is now called a *Counterscarp*, which about this Time seems to have been in its Rudiments.

A. D. 1521. with the *Spanish* Infantry had all the Charge of the Battery, having ordered some Soldiers to look into the Breach, and observe, if it were possible, the Condition of the Works on the Inside, these Fellows had no sooner got upon the broken Wall than they began to call out aloud to the Army to approach and enter the Place. On this the *Spanish* and *Italian* Foot ran in a tumultuous and disorderly Manner to the Wall, which they reached, and had already begun to climb the Breach, upon which *Girolamo Guicciardini* Captain of Foot was killed, when the Generals taking the Alarm hastened to the Place, and considering that an Assault, and much more a weak, disorderly and tumultuous Attack, would be fruitless caused them to retire. This Accident either quashed the Design, or furnished Excuses for not giving a regular Assault on that Day. On the next the Besiegers employed themselves in battering the intire Part of the Wall between the two Breaches, and a Flankwork raised on the Tower of the Gate at the inner Side. But a Report spreading itself in the Army that the *French* had fortified themselves

selves with such great Works that it would *A. D.*
 be very difficult to take the Place fairly by *1521.*
 Storm, the Generals sent two Soldiers of
 each Language to take a View of the
 Breaches, who either through Fear or
 Carelessness, or, perhaps, as some doubted,
 suborned, reported that the Remains of
 the battered Wall were above five Braces
 in Height from the Ground, and that on
 the Inside the Besieged had drawn a deep
 Foss, and cast up such other Works, that
 the Generals, doubting they had no other
 Way to become Masters of the Place, re-
 solved on working of Mines at the Side of
 the broken Wall, and to cut the contiguous
 Wall with Chissels and Pickaxes, for fil-
 ling up with the Ruins the Ditch which
 the Besieged were said to have digged on
 the Inside, and to facilitate the Entrance.
 As soon as these Works should be brought
 to Perfection, and two Pieces of Cannon,
 which were coming from *Mantoua*, added
 to the Artillery which was in the Army,
 another Battery was to be erected where
 the Wall, after extending itself in a right
 Line to a great Distance on the Right of
 the Gate, turns and forms an Angle, at
 which

A. D. 1691. *which Quarter when the Wall is thrown down the Defendants on the inner Side may be taken in Flank. Pursuant to this Resolution, on that Side which had been battered, they began to work on a Trench, and a few Days after on another for ruining the Wall with Mines; but these Works proceeded but slowly, as well because, Prossers having formed different Designs, all the necessary Provisions for these laborious Undertakings were not ready in the Camp, as because the Ground where they digged proved difficult and hard.*

*Motions
of Lau-
trech.*

WHILE the Army was employed in carrying on these Works with an Intention not to storm the Place till they were finished, Lautrech, who had so long delayed to put himself in Motion on account of the Slowness of the Troops which were coming to his Army, having now got together the greatest Part advanced five Miles more forwards, keeping along the River, having under his Command Five Hundred Lances, about Seven Thousand Swiss, Four Thousand Foot with which M. de St. Valier had joined him that Day from

from *France*, and Four Hundred Men at Arms and Four Thousand Foot under *Teodoro da Triulzi* General of the *Venetians* and *Andrea Gritti* the Proveditor. This Army was attended by the Duke of *Urbino* and *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, the last as in the King's Service, though without Title or Regiment, and the Duke in Pursuit of such Hopes as are common to Exiles. The General was in Expectation of Six Thousand more *Swiss*, granted him by the Cantons, and now on the Road, but according to their Custom marching but slowly, and with many Difficulties. Had he been joined by them, he would not have refused to try the Fortune of a Battle for the Relief of *Parma*, for which End he rested on the Road while he was continually soliciting and expecting their Arrival, taking care not to remove from the Banks of the *Po*. But being apprehensive that in the mean time his Brother would come to an Agreement with the Enemy, he had sent to excuse his Slowness as occasioned by his Expectation of a farther Reinforcement of *Swiss*, which was
now

A. D.
1521.

now not far off, and because they who were with him had made a Difficulty of passing the *Po*. He assured him, however, that he would advance to some Post in the Neighbourhood of *Parma*, of which he would give him Notice by several Discharges of Cannon, and the next Day he would draw nearer the Enemy in order to engage them, ordering out some of his Horse to skirmish, with an Intent to give him an Opportunity to sally forth and join his Army. This was what *L'Escud* solicited him to undertake, assuring him that he could not hold out above two or three Days in that Part of the Town, and two Days more afterwards in the Part beyond the River, because the Town was large and weak, and he had not above Two Hundred Foot left, for they had deserted in great Multitudes; and the Men at Arms, who amounted to no more than Three Hundred Lances, and underwent the Burden of all the Fatigues, were incapable of making Resistance if they should be attacked on several Quarters. *Lautrech* after this, on the Day he had promised

THE WARS IN ITALY. 225

promised to approach the Enemy, advanced to *Zibello*, a Castle less than twenty Miles distant from *Parma*, whence he detached Four Hundred Horse who made an Excursion up to the very Gates of the Town.

A. D.

1521.

THE Besiegers had now carried on their Mines home to the Wall, and afterwards turned them to a Place where they were to be sprung. Count *Guido Rangone* with the *Italian* Foot, of which he was Captain General, began to plant the Artillery against the other Part of the Wall; but the *French* hearing the Noise and Bustle with which they were managed had abandoned the *Codiponte* two Hours before, and retired in good Order, and without Tumult, together with their Artillery, on the other side of the River. This being known to the Besiegers the next Morning by Break of Day they entered the Place, partly through the Opening in the Wall, partly by Scaling-ladders, and were most joyfully received by the *Parmesans*, who were desirous of returning under the Ecclesiastical Dominion. But their Joy was soon turned

Progress
of the
Siege of
Parma.

A. D.

1581.

into bitter Lamentations, for they had their Houses plundered as much as if they had been Enemies. And it is not doubted that, if the Cannon had been planted in the same Place some Days before, the *French* would in the same Manner have abandoned the *Codiponte*. The next Business was to open a Way through the Rubbish of the Gates that were thrown down, through which the Cannon being introduced were conveyed to the Bank of the River, and began to play on the Wall that makes the Bank on the other side; but it was by this time so late that but little Execution was expected to be done till the next Day. But on the same Day *Lautrech* came and encamped on the River *Tara*, seven Miles from *Parma*, some imagining that he intended to hazard a Battle, others persuading themselves that he came to concert Measures with his Brother, who in consequence, when he could hold out no longer, was to come forth one Night out of *Parma* with all his Troops, and be received by the *French* Army; or else, if he chose to come to an Agreement with the Enemy, might obtain Leave to march out of *Par-*

ma

ma

ma with Safety to himself and all his Soldiers, and without any Obligation. And indeed a Treaty had by Means of the Marquis been set on Foot some Days before with *Federigo da Bozzolo*, who in visiting the Works had been wounded with a Musket Ball in the Shoulder; but the Negotiation had not proceeded so far as to afford any certain Discovery of the real Intentions of *L'Escud*. The Truth is, as appeared on good Evidence afterwards, that *Lautrech* had no Mind to fight before he was joined by the *Swiss*; for though he was somewhat superior in Number, and in the Goodness of his Men at Arms, and was better provided with Artillery, his Infantry was not to be compared with that of the Enemy's Army, in which the Foot, by a just Computation, amounted to Nine Thousand *Germans* and *Spaniards*, Two Thousand *Swiss*, and above Four Thousand *Italians*.

BUT let every one here observe on what trifling Accidents depend Things of the greatest Moment in Wars. It happened very opportunely the Night after the

A. D. 1521. Army had entered the *Codiponte* that Advices came from *Modena* and *Bologna* that *Alfonso da Este* had marched out of *Ferrara* with an Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred light Horse, and Two Thousand Foot, among which were a Thousand *Corficans* and *Italians* sent him by *Lautrech*, and with Twelve Pieces of Cannon, and had surpris'd the Castles of *Finale* and *S. Felice*, and it was apprehended that he would make further Advances. This News gave no small Uneasiness to the Generals, who, though they knew long before the Instances made to the Duke by the *French*, and that there was Reason to be apprehensive of such a Movement, had yet taken no Care to make such Provisions in *Modena* as should be sufficient in such a Case for the Security of that City. For *Prospero*, who had always obstinately defended the contrary Opinion, had never consented that any Troops should be sent from the Army to *Modena*, either because he put too much Faith in the Duke, who was his very good Friend, and with whom also he had, by Order of the Pope, set on Foot a Treaty for an Accommodation; or because he was unwilling

unwilling to weaken the Army by Detachments at a Time when the Approach of the Enemy was apprehended, especially as he was by Nature inclined to proceed in all his Measures with Caution and Security, and was therefore desirous of having always a Superiority of Forces; or because, if he had other private Ends, he was not displeased with the present Opportunity. But the Night in which the News arrived the Generals assembled in Haste, and it was resolved that Count *Guido Rangone* should immediately set out on his March to *Modena* with Two Hundred light Horse, and Eight Hundred Foot, which in Conjunction with Seven Hundred Foot already in the Place, were thought more than sufficient to resist the Forces of *Alfonso*.

WHEN this Expedition was ordered there remained several Hours of Night, and Advice was received a little before that *Lautrech* was the preceding Evening encamped upon the *Taro*. But this Intelligence mixed Truth with Falshood, for it imported that the *Swiss* had the same Day

A. D. 1521. joined the *French*, which was false; nor was there any Notice that those *Swiss* who were in the *French* Army had not promised *Lautrech* after many and earnest Intreaties, to advance any farther than the *Taro*. The Generals then being assembled on the other Occasion above related, and Daylight not yet appearing, and there being no Opportunity nor Necessity for them to engage themselves separately in any other Business, took Occasion to enter into Discourse, rather to pass away the Time, and not as debating in Council, on the State to which Affairs would probably be reduced by the Approach of *Lautrech*. In this free Conversation *Prospero*, the Marquis of *Pescara*, and *Vitello* had much Talk together on the Subject, the Result of which, it seems, was in Substance as follows: That it would be difficult to take *Parma* if a Battery were not also erected on the other Side of the City; for though the Wall which they had begun to batter the Day before should be opened, there remained no small Ascent from the Bed of the River to its Brink, nor could it be attempted without great Danger, because the Artillery and small Arms

Con-
ference of
the Gene-
rals.

Arms disposed on the three Bridges over *A. D.*
the River and in the contiguous Houses ¹⁵²¹
would gall the Assailants in Flank. It
was said that the Neighbourhood of *Lau-*
trech, if he should come and encamp near
them in some Place towards the *Po*, even
though he should shun all Occasions of
coming to a Battle, would yet render an
Assault upon the Town extremely dan-
gerous; and that it ought to be considered
that many of the Foot were gone off with
the Plunder they had taken in the Sack of
the *Codisponte*, and that others were more
intent on securing their Booty, than dis-
posed to fight; and that their present Si-
tuation was attended with many Diffi-
culties and Inconveniencies as well as
Danger, because it would be necessary
every Day to send out very numerous Ef-
forts not only for Security of the Foragers,
but also of the Money and Provisions,
which daily arrived after fetching a very
long Compass about the Walls of *Parma*;
and it might happen that when these
Troops were abroad the rest of the Forces
in the Camp might be attacked at once by
the *French* Army without, and by the Gar-

A. D.

1521.

rison within the Place. It was also al-
 { 1521. } ledged that if the Duke of *Ferrara* should
 augment his Forces it would be necessary
 to make further Detachments from the
 Camp for the Security of *Modena* and *Reg-
 gio*, and that by making Excursions only
 with those Troops which he had he would
 greatly distress their Convoys of Provisions,
 which would oblige them to raise the
 Siege, and this perhaps, when they were
 reduced to such Straits, could not be done
 without Danger. These Reasonings, which
 shewed an Inclination to raise the Siege,
 were not, however, urged in such a Man-
 ner that any one could be said to have dis-
 covered by his Discourse his Opinion or
 Advice for such a Step. At last, after
 a long Conversation on the Subject, the
 Marquis of *Pescara*, imagining that he
 had comprehended the Inclinations of the
 others, spake thus: " I am sensible, says
 he, that we are all of the same Opinion,
 but each of us, advising only with himself,
 keeps Silence, expecting that another
 should make himself the Author of it, but
 I shall be under no Constraint in this Re-
 spect. My Opinion then is that our Stay
 about

about *Parma* is attended with Danger, and A. D.
1521.
 no Hopes of Success, and that we have
 no Way to chuse but to break up and be
 gone as the lesser Evil." "The Marquis,
 says *Prospero*, has spoken no more than
 what I intended to say myself if he had
 not anticipated me." *Vitello* declared him-
 self of the same Opinion. But as for *An-*
tonio da Leva he approved of their Re-
 moval from thence, but proposed to their
 Consideration whether it were not best for
 them to go and attack *Lautrech*. But to
 this it was replied, that the Enemy could
 not be forced to fight without great Diffi-
 culty, and to stay long there would be
 impossible, because the Difficulties which
 were considered as attendant on their re-
 maining before *Parma* would become
 much greater; and it might easily happen
 for the Two Thousand *Swiss* to refuse to
 follow them, for, besides the Orders which
 they had many Days before received from
 the Cantons to quit the Service of the Pope,
 it was not probable that they could be dis-
 posed to fight against an Army in which
 were such Numbers of the same Nation;
 nor could it be denied that on account of
 the

A. D. 1521. the Plunder made the Day before it was the more difficult to put the disordered Infantry in Motion. This Counsel therefore being rejected, the Generals seemed to be all unanimous for raising the Siege. But *Prospero* and *Pescara* withdrawing together in private, after a long Conference, asked the Commissary what he thought the Pope would say of them if they decamped from *Parma*: And the Commissary saying to the Marquis "Why can't we take *Parma* to-day, as ye assured me but last Evening?" the Marquis replied in *Spanish*, "Neither to-day nor to-morrow, nor after to-morrow." The Commissary then replied, that the Pope would doubtless be extremely disturbed at such a Step, because it would totally deprive him of Hopes of the Victory; but that the Point to be considered in this Resolution consisted in the Truth or Falseness of Facts taken by them for granted. For if their Continuance in the present Station were attended with Danger, and destitute of Hope, it would doubtless be highly imprudent not to remove; but if it should be found otherwise, their Decampment would vastly disorder and prejudice

judice their Affairs. They would do well *A. D.*
 therefore to consider maturely the State of *1521.*
 the Army, and the Importance of Things,
 and by weighing Hope with Danger discover which was greater. To this Admonition *Prospero* and the Marquis replying that all the Rules of War directed them to retire, the Commissary would not presume to set himself in Opposition to Generals of such great Authority, and so it was resolved to decamp the same Day, and the Artillery was immediately drawn off from the Wall. But as soon as this Resolution was published through the Camp, it was blamed as proceeding from too much Timidity by all those who had not assisted at the Debate; so that the Commissary and *Morone* joining their Heads together endeavoured to remove *Prospero* from this Determination, who did not shew himself averse from taking the Affair under a second Consideration, on the contrary saying, in very laudable Words, and the more to be valued in proportion to the Dignity and Wisdom of the Speaker, that he was not so disposed by Nature as to be ashamed to change his Opinion when better

A. D. 1521. better Reasons were offered him, he then summoned together again the same Persons who had been present at passing the Resolution. But the Marquis of Pescara being busied in removing the Artillery, and abhorring to alter the first Conclusion, refused to come, so that the Affair remaining perplexed rather than resolved, every one retired, and set about executing what had at first been determined.

Siege of
Parma
raised.

THUS on the same Day, which was the Twelfth of the Siege, the Army returned to their Camp at *San Lazaro*, not without Danger of a very great Disorder in their Decampment; for the German Foot, demanding such unreasonable Conditions in Relation to their Pay that they could not be granted, refused to follow the Army, and having broken their old Officers had created for their General one of themselves, the Author of this Sedition, and it was feared that they would make an Agreement with the *French*; at last however after the Army was departed, contrary to all Expectation, they changed their Minds, and followed the rest of the Troops,

Troops. In a State of such Confusion, *A. D.*
 while the Army was full of Terror from *1521.*
 so sudden a Decampment, and by the
 Tumult of the *Germans*, it is not doubted
 that if *Lautrech* had come upon them
 unexpectedly, he might very easily have
 put them to Flight.

THIS Resolution wonderfully afflicted
 the Pope, who expected to hear that his
 Troops had entered *Parma*, and now
 thought himself unaccountably and con-
 trary to all Reason deprived of all Hopes
 of Victory. He found himself embarked
 on a very deep Sea, and ready to sink
 under a very heavy Load, for except the
 Men at Arms and the *Spanish* Infantry,
 the whole Expence of the War in general
 was supported by himself, and, what was
 worse, he was in Suspicion of the Faith
 of the *Cæsarean* Generals. Many others
 also concurred with him in his Suspicions,
 persuading themselves that the Raising the
 Siege of *Parma* was not occasioned by
 Fear, but owing to Artifice and a Jeal-
 ousy which those Commanders had con-
 ceived that the Pontiff, as soon as he had
 re-

Refleci-
 ons on the
 Conduct
 of that
 Enterprize

A. D. recovered *Parma* and *Piacenza*, which
 1541. was all that appertained to him of the
 State of *Milan*, would grow cool and
 remiss in the Prosecution of the War,
 and no longer chuse to be at such vast
 Expences and Trouble for the Interests of
 others. And what gave the Pontiff just
 Cause of Suspicion was his knowing how
 slowly the Army had proceeded to lay
 Siege to *Parma*, which was at length
 opened and carried on in a wrong Place;
 that after they had taken the lesser Part
 of the Town, they had studiously raised
 the same Difficulties in taking the other;
 he had observed their slow and dilatory
 Manner of managing the Siege, as if it
 were done on Purpose to give Time to the
French to come and relieve the Place;
 and lastly, that when they were in Posses-
 sion of Part of the Town, at the bare
 Name of *Lautrech*, tho' with an inferior
 Army, they had shamefully abandoned it.
 Some there were who doubted that, with-
 out the Knowledge of *Prospero*, the whole
 Management was directed by the Con-
 trivance of the Marquis of *Pescara* out
 of Envy to the other's Glory, and a De-
 sign

sign to do all that lay in his Power to lessen it. But perhaps after all the Truth lay on the Side of those who believed that the whole Affair had been conducted with Sincerity, and that the Generals had no other Motive for their Retreat than the Fear they had conceived from the Approach of *Lautrech*, being in a great measure deceived by their first Advices of his Force, which magnified it much beyond what was true. Certain it is that the *French* Generals were most of all amazed at this Step, for they had very small Hopes of preserving *Parma*, since the *Swiss*, regulating their Conduct rather according to their own Nature than in compliance with the Necessities of those who paid them, advanced forwards with a very slow Pace. Wherefore many of them did not ascribe the Departure of the Enemy to Fear, but, by another Construction, imagined rather that *Prospero*, as a very experienced General, knowing the great Disorders into which Armies are thrown by the Saccage of Cities, and considering that it would be very difficult to prevent the Soldiers from plundering *Parma*,

A. D.

1521.

A. D. *Parma*, had judged it very dangerous to
 1521. take the Place in so near a Neighbourhood
 of the Enemy.

Motions
 of the
 Armies.

WHATEVER was the true Cause of this Event, *Lautrech*, after providing *Parma* with fresh Troops, encamped at *Fontanella*, from whence three Days after he sent a Detachment to take *Roccabianca*, a Castle in the *Parmesan* near the *Po*, which after standing a Battery for some Time was, in Despair of Relief, together with the Town surrendered by *Orlando Palavicino*, Lord of the Place, on condition of freely marching away. The Army after this extended itself between *San Secondo* and the *Faro* with a Design to regulate its Motions according to the Progress of the Enemy, being greatly encouraged, partly by the Defence of *Parma*, and partly by the Arrival of a new Body of *Swiss* at *Cremona*. The Coming of these Troops, tho', by Orders from *Lautrech*, they had halted at *Cremona*, was the Cause that the Enemies Army not thinking themselves safe in their Camp at *San Lazzaro*, retired to the River *Lenza*
 on

THE WARS IN ITALY. 241

on the Side towards *Reggio*, with an Intention to remove to a greater Distance if the *French* advanced forwards, and they would have retreated much farther without so much as expecting the Motions of *Lautrech*, if the Complaints of the Pontiff and of *Cesar's* Agents, and the Disgrace which they had sensibly incurred with the whole Army had not retained them. In these Stations the Armies continued for many Days, *Lautrech* however very frequently sending out his Horse and the Garrison of *Parma*, who made Incursions by the Way of the Mountains as far as *Reggio*, with no small Molestation to the Convoys of Provisions with which the Enemy's Camp was supplied from *Reggio*, and not much to the Commendation of *Prospero*, who was by Nature very slow in giving Orders for Excursions of the light Horse, or for making any other Movement how small soever.

THE Affairs of *Cesar* beyond the Mountains were attended with no better Success; for after he had entered the Dominions of the King of *France* on the

Mexiers
besieged
in vain by
Cesar.

A. D. 1521. Side of *Flanders* with a potent Army, and laid Siege to *Meziere* with great Hopes of taking it, he found it more difficult to become Master of it than he expected, and powerful Succours arriving from the King he was constrained to retire not without very great Danger of a Defeat.

BUT in *Italy* the Projects of War had suffered no Interruption from the ill Success; for the Enemies of the *French* resolving to concern themselves no more about the Acquisition of *Parma* or any other Towns, determined to penetrate further into the Dutchy of *Milan*, by help of an Augmentation of their Forces with *Italian* Foot to the Number of Six Thousand, which they were continually lifting. And they were encouraged to proceed with the greater Boldness to this Resolution, from the Hopes of a new Descent of Twelve Thousand *Swiss* in the Pay of the Pontiff. These Troops the Cardinal of *Sion*, who openly acted as Solicitor in the Diets against the *French*, *Ennio* Bishop of *Veruli*, who was the Apostolic Nuncio, and the Ambassadors

Pope and
Caesar re-
solve on
prosecu-
ting the
War.

of *Cæſar*, had at firſt reſuſed, becauſe they were to be hired only for the Defence of the State of the Church, and with expreſs Orders not to act offeſſively againſt the Dominions of the King of *France*, but at laſt accepted of them on theſe Conditions, ſince they were not to be obtained otherwiſe, in Hopes that ſoon after their Deſcent into *Italy*, by means of their Avarice and Inconſtancy, and by corrupting and otherwiſe tampering with their Leaders, they might be induced to act with the Army againſt the Dutchy of *Milan*. Nor in this Reſolution to advance forwards was there much Occaſion for doubting to which Quarter they ſhould direct their Courſe; for in continuing the War on this Side the River *Po* there manifeſtly appeared very great Difficulties. There were no Hopes of taking *Parma*, and if they left that City behind them it would be neceſſary to go and attack the Enemy, an Attempt evidently pernicious, ſince they were encamped in a ſtrong Place, and their Camp was defended with a numerous Artillery, properly diſpoſed. To poſt themſelves between

A. D.

1521.

A. D. *Parma* and the Enemy's Army, or to proceed further without fighting, was by no means advisable, for by keeping their Station between the Enemy's Camp and these Towns in their Possession, they would in a very few Days be distressed for Want of Provisions, which could not be procured from the hostile Country, nor conveyed from any great Distance. These Difficulties would be avoided by transferring the War beyond the *Po*, for in that Country, naturally plentiful, and not damaged by the Wars, they might be confident of finding Plenty of Victuals; and they would meet with no Obstacle till they came to the *Adda*, for leaving *Cremona* on the left, and advancing to the *Oglio*, they would light on no Towns capable of making Resistance. They were persuaded also that the *Venetian* Senate would not expose their own Troops to the Fortune of a Battle for the Interests of others, and believed that the *French* would not venture to oppose them but at the Passage of the *Adda*; and, what is more, many were in Hopes that when the Army approached the Borders of the *Venetians*,
that

THE WARS IN ITALY. 245

that the Senate would recall the greater Part of their Forces from the Assistance of the *French* for the Security of their own Dominions; and besides all these Advantages it highly deserved Regard that their passing beyond the *Po* was extremely convenient for effecting their Conjunction with the *Swiss*.

A. D.

1521.

IN the mean time, while Preparation was made of many Necessaries for this new Resolution, as Artillery, Ammunition, Pioneers, Pontons, and Victuals, and while Levies were making of *Italian* Foot in *Tuscany* and *Romagna*, Count *Guido Rangone*, by Orders from the Pontiff, with Part of the new listed Foot, and the Troops which he had about him, marched against the Mountain of *Modena*, which, while *Modena* was subject to *Cæsar*, and afterwards when it was under the Dominion of the Church, had never acknowledged any other Lord than the Duke of *Ferrara*. But when the Inhabitants of the Mountain had Intelligence of this March, and that at the same time a good Body of *Tuscan* Militia was in Motion towards them, they

Mountain
of *Modena*
reduced.

A. D. would not stay to be attacked, but declared
 1521. for the Church.

At the same time *Bonifacio* Bishop of *Alessandria*, Son of the late *Francesco Bernardino Visconti*, fled from *Milan*, on the Discovery of a Plot which had been carrying on against the *French*. There came to Light also another Plot in *Cremona* under the Management of *Niccolo Varojo*, one of the principal Exiles of that City, for which some *Cremonese* who were privy to it suffered due Punishment. Nor do I know which at this Time was greater, either the ill Fortune, or the Temerity and Imprudence of the Exiles of the Dutchy of *Milan*, who were very numerous in the Army, for they were not only unsuccessful in all their Undertakings, but while they were intent on plundering the whole Country, they obstructed the Conveyance of Provisions, without making Amends for all the Mischief they did (I always except *Morone*) by an extraordinary Diligence, or with an Intelligence of Spies; nay, when *Prospero* had long before ordered them out towards *Piacenza*, after doing vast Damages

All Con-
 duct of
 the Mila-
 nese Exiles

THE WARS IN ITALY.

247

Damages to Friends as well as Foes, a *A. D.*
1521.
 Quarrel arose among themselves about dividing the Prey, in which *Pietro Scotto* one of their Chiefs, was murdered by *Esfor Visconti* and some others.

PROSPERO at this Time made an Attempt to burn the Boats of the *French* Bridge, which was brought up and laid over the River near *Cremona*, and was but slenderly guarded, that he might gain the more Time for proceeding forwards while *Lautrech* was employed in collecting of Boats necessary for refitting the Bridge. But it happened from the Length of the Way that *Giovanni de' Medici*, who was order'd for that Purpose with Two Hundred light Horse, and Three Hundred *Spanish* Foot, could not arrive at the Place before Daylight, so that the Watermen being alarmed by the Cries of the Peasants drew off the Boats into the Middle of the *Po*, secure of being molested by the Enemy posted on the Bank.

At last all the necessary Preparations being made for passing the *Po*, the Army

Q 4

marched

4. D.
1521.

Army of
the
League
marches
towards
Milan.

marched by *Bresselle*, where a Bridge of Boats had been laid; but before they passed, as a Necessity of thinking on Self-Defence is inseparable from Designs of acting offensively against others, *Vitello Vitelli* with an Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, as many light Horse, and Two Thousand Foot on the *Florentine* Establishment, was detached to take care of the Towns of the Church which they left behind. Thither also repaired the Bishop of *Pistoia* with the Two Thousand *Swiss*, for it was not thought safe to lead them against the *French*, who had in their Service so many Troops of the same Nation granted them by Decree, and with the public Banners; and the rather because they were as yet uncertain of the Resolution of the new *Swiss*, who were assembled at *Coira*, and certain Advice was expected every Hour that they had put themselves in Motion. The Bishop and *Vitello* had it in Charge not only to defend *Modena* and the other Towns of the Church from any Attempts that might be made upon them, but also to act offensively against the Duke of *Ferrara*, who assuming to himself the Glory

of

of delivering *Parma* had seized on *Finale* A. D. 1521. and *San Felice*, but proceeded no further, because the Pope, whose Hatred was increased by this Insult, prosecuted him with Censures and Ecclesiastical Monitories, so far as to deprive him of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*.

THE Army passed the *Po* on the First of *October*, and went and encamped at *Casal Maggiore*, having spent in passing not only the whole Day but good Part of the following Night, occasioned by the incredible Multitude of useless Attendants, and the vast Baggage, the Generals being greatly deceived in their Judgment; who had persuaded themselves that the whole Army with all that belonged to it would be passed by Noon. Through the Weariness of the hindmost, and the Darkness of the Night, Part of the Artillery, great Quantities of Ammunition, and a very considerable Number of Soldiers halted, and remained during the Night dispersed between the *Po* and *Casal Maggiore*, exposed a Prey to any small Number of the Enemy which should happen to attack them. And

it—

A. D. 1521 it was not doubted that if *Lautrecb*, who had assembled all the *Swiss*, and came to encamp at *Colorno* on the same Day that his Adversaries encamped at *Bresselle*, had on the Day in which they passed marched his Army over his Bridge to *Casal Maggiore* distant three Miles from *Colorno*, or, as *Colorno* is but six Miles distant from *Bresselle*, had at Noon attacked that Part of the Army which had not passed the River, he would have obtained some signal Advantage. But infinite Opportunities are lost in Wars, because Generals are not always apprised of the Disorders and Difficulties that befall the Enemy.

Pope's
Legate
arrives at
the Camp.

AT *Casal Maggiore* arrived the same Night the Cardinal *de' Medici* with the Pope's Commission as Legate of the Army. For though his Holiness had already, but very secretly, begun to lend an Ear to the Ambassador of the King of *France*, yet fearing that the ill Success, and the leaving upon him in a manner the whole Burden of the War, might give Cause to *Cesar*, or to his Ministers to suspect that, in order to extricate himself from so many Difficulties

culcies and Dangers, he might turn his *A. D.*
Mind on forming new Schemes and taking *1521.*
other Measures, he imagined that nothing
could render them so secure of his In-
tentions, and of Consequence induce them
to pursue the War with the greater Ardor,
as the Presence of a Cardinal, whose Per-
son, both on account of his being the next
Relation by Blood to the Pontiff, and be-
cause, though his constant Residence was
in *Florence*, no Business of Importance be-
longing to the Pontificate was dispatched
without his Participation, carried with it
in a manner the very same Authority as the
Person of the Pontiff himself. His Pre-
sence also was of Service for supporting the
declined Reputation of the Enterprize, and
the Awe of so great a Personage mightily
contributed to procure a greater Unanimity
in the Counsels and Resolutions of the Ge-
nerals. For the Disagreement between
Prospero Colonna and the Marquis of *Pes-*
cara became every Day more evident, and
was increased not only on other Accounts,
but because the Marquis, after raising the
Siege of *Parma*, desirous of transferring
the Infamy of that Resolution from himself

on

A. D.

1521.

on others, had written to *Rome* that it had been resolved to decamp without his Advice or Knowledge.

Progress
of the
Army.

FROM *Casal Maggiore*, after resting a Day, the Army put itself on its March through the *Cremonese* for the Bank of the River *Oglio*, on which it arrived in four Encampments, without meeting in the mean time with any Accident of Moment, except that while they took up their Quarters at a Country Place called *la Corte de' Frati* a very great Quarrel arose between the *Spanish* and *Italian* Foot, in which the *Spaniards*, rather by knowing how to use the Opportunity presented them by the Occasion, than by Valour, killed many of the others; but the Fray was soon extinguished by the Diligence and Authority of the Generals: And the Day before *Giovanni de' Medici* making an Excursion towards the Enemy, who had passed the *Po* higher up towards *Cremona* on the same Day that the others had posted themselves at *Casal Maggiore*, routed the *Venetian* Stradiotti commanded by *Mercurio*, in whose Company were also some *French* Horse, among

THE WARS IN ITALY.

253

among whom was taken Prisoner Don *Luigi Gaetano* Son of the Duke of *Trajetto*, tho' his State was in the Possession of *Prospero Colonna*.

A. D.

1521.

BUT while the Army encamped on the River *Oglio*, Fortune, casting her Smiles on the Cause of the Pontiff and *Cesar*, defeated the unlucky Counsel of the Generals, who had resolved to march from *Corte de' Frati*, and to encamp with the Army at the Village of *Bordellano* at the Distance only of eight Miles on the same River. But as it was impracticable, on account of the Difficulty of the Road, to convey thither the Artillery, it was necessary to halt half way, at the Town of *Rebecca*, divided from *Pontevico*, a Town of the *Venetians*, only by the River *Oglio*. While they were encamped in this Place they received Intelligence that *Lautrech*, followed by the *Venetian* Troops, having left his heavy Baggage at *Cremona*, was arrived the same Day at *San Martino* five Miles distant from them, resolved if the Enemies proceeded forwards to engage them the next Day in the Field. These Advices mightily

Ruinous
Measure
luckily
prevented

A. D.

1531.

mightily disturbed the Minds of the Cardinal *de' Medici* and the Generals, because the *Venetian* Senate when they joined their Troops to the Army of *Lautrech* had signified this their Resolution to the Pope in such Terms as if they seemed not to put themselves in Motion from a Desire that the King of *France* should get the Victory, but that he might have no just Cause to charge them with not observing the Confederacy: Whence they at first perswaded themselves, and the Coming of the Cardinal had confirmed them in the Opinion, that *Andrea Gritti* had received secret Orders not to permit those Troops to fight. As this Supposition now appeared false it was necessary for them to depart from their first Resolution, because none could deny that the Enemy's Army was superior in Force, for it was very strong in Cavalry, and its Infantry consisted of Seven Thousand *French* and *Italians* and Ten Thousand *Swiss*. But in the Army of the Pontiff and *Cesar*, the Number of *Germans* was so greatly diminished, and in some measure that of the *Spaniards*, that they hardly amounted to the Number of Seven
Thousand,

THE WARS IN ITALY. 255

Thousand, and as to the Six Thousand *Italians*, because they were for the most Part but new Levies, they were more considerable for their Number than their Goodness.

It was the Resolution therefore of *Prospero* and the other Commanders to wait in that Place for the Coming of the *Swiss*, who, as they were already in Motion, and because the Cardinal of *Sion*, who was their Leader, had sent Advice that they should make no Stop in any Place, were expected to arrive in three or four Days at farthest. The next Morning therefore they reduced their Camp, which had been pitched in a kind of Hurry the Evening before, into a better Form, giving themselves no Concern that it might be sorely annoyed by the Artillery of the opposite Town of *Pontevecchio*, because the Cardinal de *Medici*, conformably to his first Notions, had assured himself that the *Venetians*, who were under no other Obligations to the King of *France* than to grant him Troops for the Defence of the Duchy of *Milan*, would never consent that the

A. D.
1531.

Army of
the
League
encamps
at *Rebecca*

Army

A. D. Army of the Church and *Cesar* should receive any Molestation from their Towns. ^{1521.}
 To the Resolution of waiting for the *Swiss* at *Rebecca* manifestly presented itself in Opposition the Difficulty of supplying the Camp with Provisions, since those which were brought along with the Army could not be sufficient for many Days; and from the Terror of the Ravages committed especially by the *Milanes*e Exiles, and the general Flight of the Peasants, the fresh Supplies arrived but in very small Quantities, and even those continually diminished.

Advice of
Guicciar-
dini.

Wherefore the Commissary *Guicciar-*
dini had represented that as it was impossible for them to support themselves in that Place for Want of Victuals, and that the Arrival of the *Swiss* might happen from many Causes to be delayed, it would perhaps be more to their Advantage to remain no longer in their present Situation, but to retire five or six Miles back along the same River to the Borders of the *Mantouan*, where having behind them a friendly Country they could never fail of Provisions;

visions; and that this Motion, which at present might be made with Security, would by the Approach of the Enemy perhaps become impracticable without very great Danger. This Advice would have relished well enough with the Generals, had not the Disgrace, so fresh in Memory, of their Retreat from *Parma* restrained every one from speaking his Mind freely. They were also under some Influence from their Hopes of the speedy Arrival of the *Swiss*, who might make their Descent in five or six Days from *Coira* into the Territory of *Bergamo*, whence they had a very short March to take for joining the Army. It being thus determined to wait their Arrival at *Rebecca*, Provision of Meal which had been brought with the Army was distributed by Measure to every Company in the Camp. And as there were no portable Ovens in the Army, and the Houses that had Ovens were taken up with quartering Soldiers, every Man baked for himself what fell to his Share upon hot Coals; which Inconvenience, considering also that the Meal was but sparingly distributed, was the Occasion that many of

A. D. the *Italian* Foot, though there was Plenty
 1521. of Wine and Flesh, went off privately.

Overfight
 of *Lau-*
trech.

BUT on the third Day *Lautrech*, who had posted himself at *Bordellano*, sent Part of his Artillery, which had passed the River at Noon, to *Pontevico*, with the Consent of the *Venetian* Proveditor, tho' he pretended the contrary, and on the same Day, though it was near Night, began to fire on the Enemy's Camp; which so alarmed their Generals, that finding themselves in most manifest Danger, tho' they might have removed to a Place under Covert of some little Hills, yet being terrified by the Want of Provisions, and their Fears increased by the Slowness of the *Swiss*, the next Morning before Break of Day they broke up in great Silence without Sound of Drum or Trumpet, and putting the Carriages before the Troops, proceeded in very good Order, alike prepared to march or to fight, till they arrived at *Gabbioneta*, a Town five Miles distant on the Borders of the *Mantouan*, where they encamped, all acknowledging that they had escaped a very great Danger, partly

partly by the Kindness of Fortune, and partly through the Imprudence of the Enemy. For it is certain that if they had not stopped at *Rebecca* on the Day they had appointed to go to *Bordellano*, they would have had little or no Hopes of saving themselves. For the same or greater Necessities would have constrained them to retire, and the Retreat being longer, and from an Enemy at a nearer Distance, must have been extremely hazardous. It is no less certain also that *Lautrecb* would have obtained an undoubted Victory if, on the same Day that he sent his Artillery to *Pontevico*, he had gone, as many, and among others the *Swiss* Officers, advised him, and posted himself near the Enemy, who, on account of his Vicinity, would have found it impracticable to remove with Security, since they would have been prevented, especially by the Annoyance which they must receive by the Cannon of *Pontevico*, from ranging themselves in Order. Nor was it possible for them to remain above three or four Days in the Place where they had posted themselves without perishing with Hunger. But while, according to his

A. D. 1521. own Nature, he despised the Counsels of all others, and first gave Warning to the Enemies of the imminent Danger that threatened them, he gave them a fair Opportunity to prevent the Execution of his Menaces by a sudden Departure. It was not therefore without Reason that the *Swiss* Officers, after surveying the Situation of the Place, said to *Lautrech*, who had made a Motion to approach the Enemy, and finding them gone was come to encamp at *Rebecca*, that they deserved the Pay which is given to conquering Soldiers after winning a Battle, because it was none of their Fault that he had not obtained a Victory.

At *Gabbioneta* the Army of the League rested many Days in a Camp excellently fortified; but as the Generals saw that the Arrival of the *Swiss* was continually prolonged, and were under Apprehensions from the Vicinity of the *French* Army, which was much stronger than their own, and threatened to attack them, they passed the *Oglio*, and went and encamped at *Ostiano*, a Castle of *Federigo da Bozzolo*, with

THE WARS IN ITALY. 261

with an Intention not to leave that Post till the Arrival of the *Swiss*. This Resolution, which was prudently taken, was also accompanied with Fortune, for the Army would have received great Damage in the Camp at *Gabbioneta*, by the very low Situation of the Place, and the heavy Rains which fell immediately after the Decampment.

BUT while the Armies lay thus idle within their Trenches, one at *Ossidno*, and the other at *Rebecca*, the Bishop of *Pistoia* and *Vitello* with a Body of *Swiss* and *Italian* Foot attacked the Troops of the Duke of *Ferrara* in their Entrenchments at *Finale*, and tho' they were posted in a Place strong by Nature, and well fortified by Art, yet the *Swiss* advancing with the greatest Fierceness to meet the Danger, routed and put them to Flight, with the Loss of many killed on the Spot, and among them, bravely fighting, the Chevalier *Cavriana*. The Duke of *Ferrara*, who was at *Bondino*, was so greatly terrified at this Defeat, that he immediately abandoned that Castle, and fled to *Ferrara*.

A. D. *vara*, using the same Expedition in drawing off the Boats over which he had laid a Bridge at the same Place, that his Enemies might not be able to follow him.

Swiss descend into Italy.

In the mean time the *Swiss* were descended into the Territory of *Bergamo*, but were so full of Diffensions, and raised so many Difficulties, as retarded their Progress, having expressly refused to turn their Course for attacking the Dutchy of *Milan*, in Compliance with the earnest Sollicitations of the Cardinal of *Sion*, and of the Agents of the Pontiff and *Cæsar*. They even made some Difficulty of marching to join the Army which expected them at *Osiano*, because it was prepared to proceed offensively against the King of *France*, offering to march to any Place which the Pope should think fit in the State of the Church, for whose Defence they had enter'd into Pay; and yet, according to the barbarous Construction which they frequently put upon Things, consenting to march and attack *Parma* and *Piacenza*, as Cities manifestly appertaining to the Church, or at least to which the King of *France* had

no clear Right and Title. They demand-
 ed also, before they would put themselves
 in Motion, a Detachment of Three Hundred
 light Horse from the Army, to assist them in
 collecting Supplies of Provisions in the
 Country through which they were to pass.
 At last on the Arrival of these Horse,
 which had made their Way through the
Venetian Territories with all the Sudden-
 ness and Speed imaginable, they set out on
 their March, directing their Course to some
 Place in the Neighbourhood of the Army,
 where they might with the more Con-
 venience consult together and resolve on
 their future Operations, having by the
 Way put to Flight some *French* and *Ve-*
netian Troops; which had posted them-
 selves at *Pontoglio* or the Lake of *Eupilo* in
 order to prevent their Passage. As soon
 as they were approached near the Army
 Instances began to be made to dispose
 them to join with the rest against the
French, repeated Messages and Embassies
 passing to and fro, and the Archbishop of
Capua, by Commission of the Cardinal de'
Medici, repairing to their Camp on that
 Affair. At last those of the Canton of

A. D.

1521.

A. D.
1521.

Zurich, who, as they have greater Authority, make a Profession of deporting themselves with greater Gravity, persisted in their Refusal; the others, after much Boggling and Suspense, neither expressly refused nor accepted the Demand, not denying their Consent to follow the Army, but without declaring themselves ready to march after it into the Dutchy of *Milan*. In this Case, by Advice of the Cardinal of *Sion*, and the *Swiss* Officers, whose Assent had been gained by a Multitude of Promises, it was resolved to proceed forwards in Hopes that since these Troops had not refused to follow them, it might not be difficult to lead them into any Place where-ever the Army went.

Thus the *Zurichese*, in Number Four Thousand, turning their March towards *Reggio*, the Army, after about a Month's Station at *Gabbioneta* and *Ostiano*, joined the other *Swiss* at *Gambera*; and set forwards, the two Legates, *Sion* and *Medici*, marching in the midst with silver Crosses, and, so great is the Abuse in our Times of the Reverence due to Religion! surrounded,

furrounded, amidst an Infinity of Arms and Artillery, with Blasphemers, Murderers and Robbers. In three Marches through the Territory of the *Venetians* they arrived at *Orci Vecchi* a Castle of the Republic, excusing their Passage to the Senate as occasioned by Necessity, and not from a Desire to give them Offence, in the same Manner as the Senate had before excused themselves by alledging that *Andrea Gritti* their *Proveditor* had been forced to consent that *Lautrech* should send Artillery to *Pontevecchio*. At *Orci Vecchi* arrived Expresses sent by the Lords of the Cantons to command the *Swiss* to leave the Army, and the like Orders were sent by other Expresses to those who were in the *French* Camp, representing that it was a Dishonour to their Name that their Troops should serve in two hostile Armies under the public Banners. But these Orders had different Effects; for the Expresses which were coming to the Camp of the League were purposely detained on the Road, and never came to the *Swiss* who were with *Sion*, but all those in the *French* Service quitted it in a manner without any Warning,

A. D.

1521.

Swiss
 leave the
French
 Army.

ing,

A. D. 1521. ing, induced, as it is supposed, not so much by the Orders of their Superiors, or from the Tedioufness of the War, of which they are usually impatient above all other Nations, as because *Lautrech* having no Remittances of Money from *France*, and the Sums which he had rigorously exacted of the Dutchy of *Milan* falling short, was in no Condition to pay them.

Reflexions
on bad
Ministers.

HENCE we might justly take Occasion to reflect on the mighty Influence of the Malignity and Imprudence of Ministers on the Affairs of such Princes as, either thro' Indolence neglect the public Business, or from Want of Parts are of themselves incapable of discerning good Counsels from bad: For Three Hundred Thousand Ducats being provided, in order to be sent to *Lautrech* according to the Promises made to that General, the Lady Regent, Mother of the King, sacrificing her Son's Profit to her Jealousy of *Lautrech's* Greatness, took care that the Administrators of the Finances should, without the King's Knowledge, convert that Sum of Money to other Uses.

LAUTRECH

LAUTRECH therefore much perplexed in Mind, and under deep Concern, because, by the Departure of the *Swiss*, the Success of the War, which before was like to be happy, was now become very dubious, leaving Garrisons in *Cremona* and *Pizzichitone*, assembled the rest of his Army at *Cassano*, in Hopes to prevent the Enemy from passing the *Adda*, as well on Account of the other Difficulties that attend an Army in the Passage of Rivers against an Enemy posted on the opposite Bank, as because in that Place the Bank of the River towards *Milan* raises itself to a more than ordinary Height, from whence he could do more Execution with his Cannon upon the Enemy, than he could receive Damage from their Batteries.

Motions
of Lau-
trech.

ON the other Side the Apostolic Legates and Generals decamped from *Orzi Vecchi*, and again passing the *Oglio* arrived in three Marches at *Rivolta*, without feeling any more a Want of Provisions, because the Towns of the *Ghiaradadda*, which were abandoned by the *French*, supplied

A. D. 1521. supplied them in Abundance. At this Place while the Armies were intent, one on gaining and the other on defending the Passage of the River, *Prospero* and the other Generals prepared to lay a Bridge between *Rivolta* and *Cassano*, a very difficult and hazardous Undertaking because of the Opposition of the Enemy. After spending two or three Days in Delays and Consultations, at last *Prospero*, without communicating his Design to the Marquis of *Pesara*, that he might have none to share with him in the Glory of the Action, and refusing the Service of the *Spaniards* because it should not come to his Knowledge, caused two small Barks to be privately taken out of the River *Brembo*, on board which he ordered some Companies of *Italian* Foot to pass the River *Adda* with all possible Silence in the Night over against the Town of *Vauri*, which is an open unwall'd Place situated on the Bank of the *Adda* five Miles from *Cassano*, where there is a Conveniency of passing the River, and in the midst of the Town is a small Circuit of Walls, which serves for a Fort. This Place was guarded by a few Horse com-
manded

manded by *Ugo de Peppoli*, Lieutenant of *A. D.*
 a Company of Lances conferred by the *1521.*
 King of *France* on *Ottaviano Fregoso*. *Ugo*
 hearing the Noise hasted to encounter the
 Enemy on the Bank, but was easily re-
 pulsed by the Fire of the Musquets.
 But it is believed that he might with Ease
 have defended himself, if the Horse which
 he had with him had been supported by
 a Number of Musqueteers, which, as he
 affirmed, he had demanded of *Lautrech*.
 The Foot, as they passed the River, drew
 up on an Eminence in the Town, which
 has a small Kind of Fort as beforemen-
 tioned, expecting the Succours that had
 been appointed by *Prospero*, who, on the
 first Notice of this happy Beginning, im-
 mediately turned that Way almost all the
 Foot of the Army that were quartered in
 the little Towns of the *Gbiaradadda*, with
 Orders that those who first arrived, and
 afterwards others, successively, should
 without Delay pass the River in the same
 Barks, and in two others of those which
 were carried in the Army for the Conve-
 nience of laying a Bridge over Rivers, and
 had that Night been conveyed by Land to
 the

A. D. 1521. the same Bank : And *Prospero* himself and the other Generals, with the Cardinal de' *Medici* in all Haste took the same Way, leaving Orders at *Rivolta* that if the *French* left their Station, a Bridge should immediately be laid. But at *Vauri* the Success of the Enterprize was still for some Hours uncertain ; for if *Lautrech*, on the first Notice of the Enemies, had immediately detached thither a Part of his Army, it is not doubted but he would have oppressed them * ; but after he had stood for several Hours in Suspense, and uncertain what Measures to take, he detached *L'Escud* with Four Hundred Lances and the *French* Infantry, followed by some Pieces of Artillery. These Troops marched with all Speed, and arriving immediately made a vigorous Attack on the Place where the Enemies were retired in Sight of those on the opposite Bank who were coming to their Relief, the Hopes of which encouraged them to make a stout Defence, tho' *L'Escud*

* *Peppeli* had sent to demand Succours of *Lautrech*, who happened to be asleep in his Chamber, and his Attendants unwilling that their Master should be disturbed, would not suffer the Messenger to enter the Room. *Giov.*

THE WARS IN ITALY. 271

L'Escud with his Men at Arms dismount-
ing on Foot fought most valiantly in the
narrow Ways, and it is not doubted that,
if the Cannon had arrived in Season, he
would have conquered them. In the
mean time wonderful was the Hurry on
the opposite Bank, where *Tegane*, Com-
mander of the *Grisons*, and two *Spanish*
Ensigns of Foot, animated by the moving
Speeches of the Cardinal *de' Medici* and the
Generals, were continually pressing to be
foremost in passing the River as many to-
gether as the Barks would hold at a time.
But *Giovanni de' Medici*, encouraged by
none, but only stimulated by his own
Magnanimity, and ardent Thirst after
Glory, passed the River mounted on a
Turkish Horse, which the Deepness of the
Water obliged him to swim till he reached
the opposite Shore, at the same time
striking Terror into his Enemies, and
giving Encouragement to his Friends. At
last *L'Escud*, though his Artillery was just
arrived, despairing of Victory, with the
Loss of an Ensign, retired to *Cassano*,
from whence *Lautrech* retreated with his
whole Army to *Milan*. When he was
arrived

A. D.

1521.

Army of
the
League
passes the
Adda.

A. D.

1521.

arrived in that City, either that he might not lose the Opportunity of gratifying the Hatred he had before conceived, or with an Intent to strike a Terror into the Minds of the People by so tragical a Spectacle, he caused *Cristofano Palavicino* to be publicly beheaded. A Sight truly lamentable, whether you regard the Nobility of the Family, the Greatness of the Person, or his Age, and that he had been put in Prison many Months before the War.

Reflections on the Event.

THE Passage of the *Adda* exalted to the Skies the Name of *Prospero*, who before, by his Retreat from *Parma*, and the Slowness of his Proceedings, had lost all his Reputation in *Rome* and in the Army. But as the Memory of former Actions is frequently obliterated by the last, every Mouth was now full of his Praises, celebrating him as the Man who, without Blood, and without Danger, but wholly by Policy and Industry, worthy of the most expert General, had stolen from the Enemy a Passage over that River which *Lautrec* had promised himself to prevent,

prevent, with such an Assurance that; ^{A. D.} besides what he said of it in public, he had ^{1521.} written to the King that he would absolutely hinder it. There were not wanting some however who with Reasons, either real or apparent, endeavoured to extenuate the Glory of this Action, alledging that it shewed no extraordinary Parts or Industry either in the Invention or Execution, because Nature of itself teaches every one who meets with Opposition at Rivers or narrow Passes to seek a Passage either above or below where there is none to hinder him; that the Pass of *Vauri* lay near, was very convenient, and a Pass ordinarily frequented, and that *Lautrecb* had been so neglectful to guard it that his Negligence had left no Room for Industry. And upon what other Account is *Prospero* to be commended for his provident Care and Foresight, besides his privately procuring the Boats, and managing the Affair with the necessary Silence and Secrecy? Others who are perhaps too exact Judges of Matters, and more ready to condemn dubious Errors than to commend certain Success, not content with diminishing the

A. D.

1521.

Fame of his Industry have censured him for not taking due Precautions, and observing convenient Order, because he had sent no Orders to the Troops that were quartered in *Treco*, *Canavaggio*, and divers other Places, and designed for Succours, to put themselves in Motion before he had Notice that the Poole he had sent forwards had taken Possession of *Vauri*, by which means it was the Middle of the Day before the foremost of them could possibly arrive on the Bank of the River, and above fourteen Hours after the first Detachment had passed; whence it was not doubted that if *Laurech*, at the first Notice, had acted as he did many Hours afterwards, he would have recovered *Vauri*, and defeated the Troops that were passed, because the Forces appointed to support them would have arrived too late. But these Constructions did not sully the Glory of *Prospera*, for the Public usually judges of Things by the Event, sometimes praising sometimes condemning as the Success happens to be prosperous or adverse, and always ascribing to Counsel and Design what is often owing merely to Fortune.

LAURECH

LAUTRECH being retired from the Bank of the *Adda*, every one expected that the Enemy, who the next Day laid a Bridge between *Rivolta* and *Cassano*, would as soon as possible approach *Milan*; but *Prospero*, whose Counsel, tho' generally blamed by the Vulgar, was approved by the Skilful in the military Art, chose rather the first Day to march by a longer Way about, and to take up his Quarters at *Marignano*, a Town halfway between *Milan* and *Pavia*; for it being impossible to encamp in the open Field, on account of the Season, which was come in cold and very rainy, he thought it more convenient to approach *Milan* on that Side, from which, if he found it difficult, as he imagined it would be, to gain an Entrance into the Place, he might immediately turn his March for *Pavia*, where *Lautrech*, in order to draw all his Forces to *Milan*, had left no Garrison, that he might fix the Seat of the War in that plentiful and very commodious City. On the other Side, *Lautrech*, whose Foot were reduced to a small Number, was inclined

Prospero
encamps
at *Marig-*
nano.

A. D.

1521.

at first to defend only the City of *Milan*; but afterwards considering that if he abandoned the Suburbs he should give the Enemy an Opportunity to lodge themselves there, and by that means carry on the Siege at their own Leisure, he resolved to guard also the Suburbs: A Resolution certainly full of Fortitude and Prudence, if it had been accompanied with due Vigilance, and by means of which, considering the sudden Accidents which happened but a very few Days after, Affairs would have taken a very different Turn from what happened.

BUT the Army of the League, the greater Part of which was quartered at *Marignano*, and the *Swiss* more advanced at the Abby of *Chiavale*, having rested three Days in expectation of the Artillery, which the Difficulty of the Roads had rendered impossible to keep Pace with the Army, directed its March to *Milan*, with an Intention, if it did not gain an Entrance the same Day, to depart the next for *Pavia*, whither Part of the light Horse had been already detached to take Possession.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

277

Possession. And it happened that Morning, which is very remarkable, that while the Legates and the principal Officers of the Army stopped in a Meadow near *Chiaravalle*, to give Room for the *Swiss* to march, they were addressed by a venerable old Man, in a Plebeian Dress, who declared that he was sent by the Inhabitants of the Parish of *San Siro* in *Milan*, and conjured them with great Earnestness to march forwards, because it had been appointed that not only the Inhabitants of that Parish, but all the People of *Milan*, should at the first Approach of the Army, at the Sound of the Bells in all the Parishes, rise up in Arms against the *French*. And this Adventure appeared afterwards the more surprising because after the most diligent Search that could be made to find the Man again, it could never be known who he was, nor from whom he had been sent.

A. D.

1521.

A remarkable Adventure.

The Army then marched in Order of Battle towards the *Roman Gate*, the heavy Artillery stopping at the Head of a Way that turns towards *Pavia*; and the *Spanish*

S 3

Foot

A. D.

1521.

Foot under the Marquis of *Pescara* advancing in Front, approached towards Night the Foss between the *Roman Gate* and the Gate of *Pavia*, and the Musqueteers presenting themselves before a Bastion erected in a Place called the *Vicentino*, near the Gate named *Lodovica*, more with Design of making a Tryal, than in Hopes of obtaining any Advantage, the *Venetian Troops*, which had the Guard of that Post, not daring so much as to look the Enemy in the Face, with the most shameful Cowardice turned their Backs, and betook themselves to Flight, and the *Swiss* who were posted near them behaved in the same Manner, so that the *Spanish Foot* passed the Ditch and the Rampart without Difficulty, taking Prisoner as they passed *Teodoro da Trivulzi*, who on the first Alarm had posted thither unarmed on a Mule, and received a slight Wound; he afterwards paid the Marquis of *Pescara* Twenty Thousand Ducats for his Ransom. *Andrea Gritti* with much Difficulty saved himself, and joining the *French* in their Flight they all retired together, fetching a long Compass, into the City,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

279

A. D.

1521.

City, where having made no Provisions for Defence, and having but very few Foot, and the Hearts of the People disposed to Rebellion, they made a Halt about the Castle. On the other Hand the Marquis of *Pescara*, intent on following his good Fortune, approaching the Roman Gate (the Gates of the City and those of the Suburbs are called by the same Names) was by the Chiefs of the *Ghibelline* Faction, who had seized on that Gate, admitted into the Place, and a little after entered after the same Manner, by the Gate of the *Tesino*, the Cardinal *de Medici*, the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and *Prospero*, with a Part of the Army, the Conquerors themselves wondering by what Means, and through what Disorder, they had obtained so easy and important a Victory. But the principal Cause proceeded from the Negligence of the *French*, for *Lautrech*, by what appeared afterwards, had not only no Intelligence that the Army had moved that Day, but it is believed that the vast Damages done to the Roads by the excessive Rains had rendered him secure, as making it impracticable

A. D.

1521.

cable for the Enemy on that Day to move their Artillery, without which he did not imagine they would venture to attack the Ramparts. Hence at that very Time when the Enemy was entering the Gates, he was taking his Diversion with some of his Officers on Horseback, and riding through the Streets of *Milan* unarmed; and *L'Escud*, fatigued and spent with Watching the Night before, was asleep in his own Quarters. It is believed however that after the *French* General had assembled the flying Troops on the Plain before the Castle he might have had a fair Opportunity of attacking the Enemy, Part of whom were quartered after a very disorderly Manner in *Milan*, Part of them remained in the Suburbs in the same Disorder, and the rest were encamped without the Town after a scattering and confused Rate. But Fear and the Mistakes occasioned by the Darkness of the Night preventing him from discerning in so short a Time the Posture of the Enemy, he went off the same Night with the whole Army to *Como*. Here he left Fifty Men at Arms, and Six Hundred Foot, and then taking

taking the Road through the Pieve of *Inzino*, passed the *Adda* at *Lecco*, and arrived in the Territory of *Bergamo*, the Castle of *Milan* being provided with a good Garrison and all Neccessaries.

A. D.

1521.

THE Example of *Milan* was followed by *Lodi* and *Pavia*, and at the same time the Bishop of *Pistoia* and *Vitello*, who had left *Parma* behind them, and taken the Way to *Piacenza*, were freely received by that City. The same Inclination was in the City of *Cremona*, where News being just before received not only of the Revolution in *Milan*, but also that the French Army was defeated, the People rose in Arms, and began to cry up the Name of the Empire and of the Duke of *Milan*. *Lautrech*, who was arrived in the *Bergamasco*, on receiving Advice of the State of Affairs in *Cremona*, ordered thither *L'Escud* with Part of the Troops to recover the Town. But *L'Escud* being repulsed by the People, *Lautrech* himself marched away with all his Force for that City, though he had but small Hopes of Success, because it might easily be suc-

Lodi, Pa-
via, &c.
declare for
the
League.

coured

A. D.

1521

coured by so great a Number of *Swiss* as were then in *Piacenza*, and because he thought himself insufficient to defend so many Places at once, he sent Orders to *Federigo da Bozzolo* to abandon *Parma*, His Enterprize met with Success; for tho' the Bishop of *Pistoia* had Orders from the Cardinal de' *Medici*, as soon as he had Advice of the Rebellion of *Cremona*, to send thither Part of the *Swiss* for securing that Acquisition, yet being unwilling to divide those Troops, or to employ himself in any other Business than gratifying his Desire of marching with the *Swiss* on an Enterprize which was designed against *Genoa*, he delayed so long that *Lautrech*, who was still Master of the Castle, there being none to defend the Town against him but the People, who immediately sent Ambassadors to demand Pardon for their Offence, easily recovered the Place. On this Success he was mightily encouraged, and sent Orders to *Federigo da Bozzolo* not to quit *Parma*; but *Federigo* had already left it, and had passed the *Po* with his Troops; and *Vitella*, who was on his March with his Regiment for *Piacenza*, being not far from

THE WAR IN ITALY. 283

from *Parma* when *Federigo* quitted it, At D.
1521.
had been invited, by the unanimous Con-
sent of all the People, and made his Entry
into that City.

THE Generals were now intent on ac-
quiring the rest of the State of *Milan*, with
a Design to reduce the Expences of the
War to a more moderate Standard, for
which End the Marquis of *Pescara* was
sent from *Milan* with the Spanish, German,
and *Grisen* Troops to lay Siege to *Como*.
After a Battery had begun to play, the
Garrison of the City, despairing of Relief,
capitulated on Condition that the French
Soldiers and the Inhabitants of the Place
should be safe in their Persons and Ef-
fects. But when the French were ready
to depart the Spaniards entered the Town,
and plundered it, to the great Reproach
of the Marquis, who not long afterwards
was charged by *Giovanni Garbano*, Com-
mander of the French Troops in *Como*,
with Breach of Faith, and challenged to
fight a Duel,

Como
surren-
dered.

At

A. D.

1521.

Bishop of
Veruli im-
prisoned
by the
Swiss.

At this Time also was the Bishop of *Veruli* sent to the *Swiss* to confirm them in their friendly Dispositions, but on his Arrival at *Belinzone* they committed him into Custody; for as they were dissatisfied with the Proceedings of their Troops against the King of *France*, they complained not only of the Cardinal of *Sion* and of the Pope, and all his Ministers, but among others particularly of *Veruli*, who residing with them in Quality of the Pope's Nuncio had laboured to induce them to contravene the Exception with which they had been granted.

THE Affairs of the War were reduced to such a Situation as to afford the Pontiff and *Cæsar* great Hopes of securing the Victory, because the King of *France* could not under a long time send new Forces into *Italy*, and the Power of those Potentates who had taken from him *Milan* with the greater Part of that Dutchy, seemed sufficient not only to preserve what they had acquired, but to conquer what as yet remained in the Hands of the Enemy,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

285

Enemy. And indeed the *Venetian* Senate, ^{A. D.} terrified at such great Success, and apprehensive that the War which was begun against others would be brought home to their own Doors, put the Pope in Hopes that they would procure the *French* Troops to depart out of their Dominions. But a sudden and unforeseen Event produced as sudden a Change in the Scene of Affairs by the Death of Pope *Leo*, who unexpectedly departed this Life on the first Day of *December* in his Villa at *Magliano*, to which he frequently retired for his Recreation. He had received with inexpressible Pleasure the News of the Acquisition of *Milan*, and was seized the same Night with a slow Fever; the next Day he was carried to *Rome*, and tho' his Disorder in the Beginning was reckoned by the Physicians of no Consequence, it carried him off in a very few Days, not without strong Suspicions of Poison, administered to him, as imagined, by *Bernabo Malaspina* his Chamberlain, whose Office it was to give him Drink. But tho' he was imprisoned on that Suspicion, the Affair was no further
Death of
Pope
Leo X.
1521.
exa-

N. D. examined, because the Cardinal *de Medici*,
 1521. as soon as he came to *Rome*, had him set
 at Liberty, that he might have no Occa-
 sion to contract greater Enmity with the
 King of *France*, by whose Procurement,
 it was whispered, tho' by uncertain Au-
 thority and Conjecture, that *Bernabo* had
 administered the Poison and had been a witness
 to the scene.

Leo left the World, if you regard
 the Opinion of Men, when he was in
 the Midst of his Glory and Relicity, by
 the Reduction of *Milan* being delivered
 from Dangers, and from those infinite
 Expences, for which, tho' quite exhaust-
 ed of Money, he was constrained to pro-
 vide at any Rate; and because a few
 Days before his Death he received the
 News of the Acquisition of *Piacenza*,
 and on the very Day that he died he had
 Advice of that of *Parma*; Events which
 he so ardently desired that we are assured
 that, when he resolved to undertake a War
 against the *French*, he said to the Cardinal
de Medici, who dissuaded him from it,
 that his principal Motive was his Desire
 to recover those two Cities to the Church,

and

and that whenever he should obtain that Favour he should be content to die. He A. D. 1521.

was a Prince worthy to be praised as well as blamed on many Accounts, and who greatly deceived the Expectations conceived of him at his Assumption to the Pontificate, since he appeared to be endowed with greater Prudence, but with much less Goodness, than all had imagined.

The Death of the Pontiff greatly weakened the Interests of *Cæsar* in Lombardy, for there was no Room to doubt but that the King of *France*, resuming Courage by his Deliverance from an Enemy by whose Money the War had been commenced and supported, would send a new Army into *Italy*, and that the *Venetians* for the same Reason would continue in Confederacy with him. Hence the Designs of attacking *Cremona* and *Genoa* were laid aside, and the Ministers of *Cæsar*, who had hitherto with Difficulty paid the *Spanish* Troops, were constrained not without Danger to diminish the Number of their Forces, while the King of *France* kept

Affairs of
Italy af-
fected by
the Pope's
Death.

A. D. kept Possession of *Cremona*, *Genoa*, *Alessandria*, the Castle of *Milan*, with the Fortresses of *Novara*, *Trezzo*, *Pizzichitone*, *Domussola*, and *Arona*, and all the *Lago Maggiore*. The Fort of *Pontremoli* also which had been seized by the Enemy was recovered by *Sinibaldo dal Fiesco*, and the Count of *Noceto*, and reduced to his Obedience. Nor had the Affairs of the King of *France* beyond the Mountains all this while a prosperous Course, for *Cæsar* carrying his Arms against him took the City of *Tournay*, and soon after the Cittadel, in which were great Stores of Cannon and Ammunition.

Tournay
taken by
Cæsar.

THE Pope's Death occasioned an Introduction of new Governments, new Counsels, and new Orders in the Dutchy of *Milan*. The Cardinals of *Sion* and *Medici* immediately set out for *Rome*, to be present at the Election of a new Pontiff. The *Cæsarean* Generals keeping only Fifteen Hundred *Swiss*, dismissed all the rest with the *German Foot*; the Troops of the *Florentines* returned towards *Tuscany*, those of the Church went Part of them

them under the Conduct of *Guido Rangone* A. D. 1521.
 to *Modena*, another Part under the Mar-
 quis of *Mantoua* remained in the State of
Milan, rather in Pursuance of their own
 Resolution than by the Consent of the
 College of Cardinals, which being divided
 within itself could come to no Determina-
 tion on any Point; so that when *Lau-*
trech made his Complaint to them that the
 Soldiers of the Church had taken up
 their Quarters in the Dutchy of *Milan* to
 the Prejudice of the King of *France*,
 who, from the extraordinary pious Services
 performed by his Predecessors to the
 Church, had obtained the Title of her
 Defender and eldest Son, they could agree
 on no other Answer or Resolution, than
 that they referred his Grievance to the
 Determination of the future Pope. Part
 of the *Swiss* who were in *Piacenza*
 marched with the Bishop of *Pistoia* to
Modena for the Security of that City and
 of *Reggio* against the Duke of *Ferrara*,
 who since the Death of *Leo X.* had taken
 the Field with One Hundred Men at
 Arms, Two Thousand Foot, and Three
 Hundred light Horse, and by a voluntary

Duke of
Ferrara
 recovers
 his Towns

A. D. Submission of the Inhabitants had re-
 1521.
 covered *Bondino*, *Finale*, the Mountain
 of *Modena*, and the *Carfagnana*, and with
 some little Difficulty *Lugo*, *Bagnacavallo*,
 and the other Towns in *Romagna*, and
 was gone to lay Siege to *Cento*.

THE *Swiss* of the Canton of *Zurich*
 remained at *Piacenza*, and because they
 would not separate themselves could not
 be induced to spare One Thousand of
 their Men for the Defence of *Parma*.
 That City remaining in a Manner unpro-
 vided gave Encouragement to *Lautrech*,
 who was in *Cremona* with Six Hundred
 Lances and Two Thousand Five Hundred
 Foot, to attempt to retake it; being
 stimulated also to the Enterprize by the
 pressing Sollicitations especially of *Federigo*
da Bozzolo, who by his particular Dexter-
 ity in the Management of Affairs of that
 Nature had obtained great Confidence in
 his Conduct. It was designed that *Bon-
 neval* with Three Hundred Lances, and
Federigo and *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, one
 with the *French* Foot, and the other with
 those of the *Venetians*, making in all
 Five

French
Design
upon
Parma.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 291

Five Hundred Men, should make a sudden Attack on that City, which had a Garrison of Seven Hundred *Italian* Foot, and Fifty Men at Arms of the Marquis of *Mantoua*, the People well disposed in their Affections to the Church, but ill armed, and dispirited by the Memory of the *French*, and of the Severities exercised by *Federigo*; and that Part of the City which had been battered when it was besieged by the Church, where the Walls had been beaten down, was still in Ruins without the least Reparation. To this might be added the Vacancy of the Apostolic See, during which the Minds of the People are usually fluctuating and irresolute, and the Governors more attentive to their own Safety than to the Defence of Towns, as not knowing for whom they are to expose themselves to Danger.

ON this Foundation then the *French* Infantry were sent by Night down the *Po* to *Torricella*, where they were joined by the Men at Arms which came from *Cremona* by Land, and having taken Care to

A. D. 1521. bring along a good Number of Boats from *Cremona*, they passed the *Po* in the Night at *Torricella* twelve Miles distant from *Parma*, leaving Orders for *Marc' Antonio Colonna* with the *Venetian* Foot, who were encamped on the *Oglio*, to follow them. This Design being apprehended the same Night by *Francesco Guicciardini*, who was come from *Milan*, by Orders of the Cardinal *de' Medici*, to take upon him the Care of *Parma*, he called an Assembly of the People in the Night, and, exhorting them to defend themselves, distributed among them One Thousand Pikes, which he had two Days before, suspecting some Accidents might happen, caused to be brought from *Reggio*. Hence he carefully attended on making the necessary Provisions for defending himself, being sensible of many Difficulties on account of the small Number of regular Troops that were in the Place, which were not sufficient to maintain it without the Assistance of the People, on which, such is the Nature of the Multitude, in sudden and dangerous Cases, he could lay no solid Foundation of Confidence.

Guicciardini prepares for its Defence.

Con-

Considering also that he could not prevent ^{A. D. 1521.} the Enemy from entering the *Codiponte*,

he withdrew the Soldiers and all the Inhabitants of the Place into another Part of the City, but not without extreme Difficulty, because many of the People were vainly persuaded that it was possible to defend it, and those who inhabited that Part, thinking it hard to be forced to abandon their own Houses, could neither by Reasons nor Authority be disposed to leave them before the Approach of the Enemies. The long Delay of the *Parmesans* in consenting to retire had very like to have drawn the *French* along with them into the other Part of the Town, where were many Difficulties, and especially a Want of Money at a Time of great Necessity, for it happened to be the very Day appointed for the Payment of the Troops, who protested that if they were not paid the next Day they would leave the City.

ON the first Day *Federigo da Bozzolo* with Three Thousand Foot and some light Horse entered the *Codiponte*, which

A. D.

1521.

was abandoned, and was followed the Day after by *Bonneval* with the *French* Lances, and *Marc' Antonio Colonna* with Two Thousand *Venetian* Foot; but they had no other Artillery than two Sakers, the very bad Roads at this Season lying low, and full of Water from the Neighbourhood of the *Po*, rendering it impossible or at least very difficult to convey Cannon large enough for Battery: besides that could not be done without losing more Time than was consistent with that Expedition on which they founded their Hopes, imagining, tho' without Reason, that *Parma* would receive Succours either from *Modena* or *Piacenza*. The People however were possessed with an Opinion, from the Reports of the Peasants who were fled into the Place, that the heavy Artillery was on the Road, which wonderfully terrified them, and much the more because *Federigo*, having taken some Citizens in their Territory, after he had, by means of some Rebels of *Parma*, who attended him, cunningly made them believe that *Marc' Antonio Colonna* was coming with a very numerous Body of Troops

Troops furnished with a Train of Artillery, ^{A. D.}
gave them Permission to go into *Parma*. ^{1521.}

Here, by magnifying the Forces of the Enemy much above the Truth, they filled the People with so great a Terror, that not only the Multitude in every Quarter of the City, but the Councils, and those Magistrates who were intrusted with the Affairs of the Community, began openly to importune the Governor to prevent the Danger of having himself and the Garrison made Prisoners, and to save the Town from being plundered, by hearkening to an Agreement. While the Governor was opposing their Sollicitations by Arguments and by Intreaties, and the Time was wasted in Disputes, a new Difficulty arose; for it being the Time of Payment, the Foot made a Mutiny, and gave Intimations that they intended to quit the City. The Commissary however, after many Persuasions, prevailed with the Citizens, who were grown cool in performing what they had before promised, to provide Part of the Money, representing to them that this Disbursement would, at all Events, prove of no inconsiderable Service towards their

A. D.

1521.

Justification, on all Occasions, with future Popes. With this Money he appeased, as well as he could, the Tumult, which had increased the Fears of the People, and the Soldiers seeing themselves but few in Number, and therefore in the Power of the Inhabitants, whom they understood to be wavering in their Disposition in all Parts of the City, were possessed with a vehement Suspicion that they should be attacked from within and from without the Walls at the same Time, for which Reason they had rather the Town were surrendered by Capitulation on Condition of Safety to themselves, than remain exposed to so great a Danger. In this Situation when Affairs were reduced to no small Straits, nothing was more necessary than the Constancy of the Governor, who sometimes protested to the Soldiers that he would share with them in the common Danger, sometimes encouraged the principal Citizens met all together in Council, and reasoning with them shewed the Vanity of their Fears, because he had certain Intelligence that the Enemy had brought no heavy Cannon

His Exhortation
to the Citizens.

non with them, without which it was ridiculous to imagine that by the Help of Scaling-ladders they could force an Entrance into the Town, where the young Men, in conjunction with the Soldiers, were sufficient to resist a much greater Force: That he had sent to *Modena*, where lay the *Swiss* and *Vitello* and *Guido Rangone* with their Troops, to demand Succours; and that he did not doubt but, by the End of the next Day at farthest, they would receive such Relief from them as would constrain the Enemy to remove; for the Regard to their own Honour, with the Apprehensions that the Loss of *Parma* might be followed by a greater Disorder, would oblige them, considering the great Number of Troops which they had with them, to advance forwards. He had sent also, he said, for the same Purpose, to *Piacenza*, whence he had very great Hopes for the same Reasons. They ought to consider, he told them, that since the Pope was dead, from whom he had received Honours and Promotions, he had no Obligation or Motive remaining on him, which could
pre-

A. D. 1521. prevail upon him, if Affairs had been in that Situation in which they imagined them to be, to expose himself voluntarily to such manifest Danger. For it had always been demonstrated, by Experience, that the Ministers of a deceased Pontiff could never expect any Place or Reward from the succeeding Pope: On the contrary it might easily happen that the new Pontiff might be an Enemy to *Florence* his native Country; for which Reason he had no Cause for public or private Respects to desire the Grandeur of the Church, but many Cases might well happen in which he should be highly pleased with her Depression: He had neither Wife nor Children, or any Possessions in *Parma*, which could create in him a Concern or Fear that if the City should return under the Dominion of the *French* they should be exposed to their Lust, Insolence, or Rapine; he had therefore, for his own Part, no Reason to hope for any Advantage if *Parma* were defended, nor Cause to apprehend, from its Surrendry, any of those Calamities which it had experienced under the galling Yoke of the *French*;

French; and since he should expose his Person to the same Dangers with the rest, in case it should be taken by Force, they might assure themselves that his Resolution to stay in the Place proceeded from no other Motive than his being well satisfied that the Troops of the Enemy having no heavy Artillery, as to his certain Knowledge they had not, were incapable of forcing the Town: If he had doubted of their Security he should not have opposed their coming to an Agreement, from a Desire which he has in common with all other Men of his own Preservation, especially considering that the Apostolic See being vacant, and the regular Force which he had in *Parma* insufficient to controul the Inclinations of the People, nothing could be laid to his Charge, nor any Blame result to himself, from this their Resolution.

WITH these Reasons, sometimes conferring with many of them apart, sometimes disputing with them all together, and sometimes taking up their Time in walking about the Walls, and in making other

A. D.

1521.

other Provisions, he had amused them all the Night; for he had understood that tho' they were ardently desirous to capitulate, for no other Reasons but the extreme Fear in which they stood of being forced and plundered, yet they were restrained by knowing that if they made an Agreement without his Consent they must expect to be stigmatised as Rebels. But at Break of the Day dedicated to *St. Thomas* the Apostle, and when now it began to be known by the Balls discharged from two Sakers which had been planted that Night, that the Enemy had no Artillery for battering the Wall, the Governor believed that at his Return to Council he should find the whole Assembly of another Mind, and full of Security. But he found them of a quite contrary Disposition, and their Fears were augmented in proportion as they fancied themselves, since the Day was now begun, approaching still nearer to the Danger. Hence they would no longer hearken to Reasons, but begun, not only with the most open Instances, but with Protests, and with a kind of tacit Menaces to urge the Governor to consent

to

to a Capitulation. But he resolutely answered them that since it was not in his Power to prevent them from taking such Counsels, or forming such Designs, as it would be if he had but a greater Force in *Parma*, he had no other Satisfaction for the Injury which they were consulting to do to the Apostolic See, and to himself its Minister, than to see that if they were resolved to make an Agreement with the Enemy, they could not avoid the Infamy of being noted as Rebels and disloyal to their Sovereign; upbraiding them, in very warm Expressions, with the Oath of Fidelity which they had but a few Days before in the Great Church solemnly taken, as administered by him, to the Apostolic See; and protesting that tho' he were to have before his Eyes the most evident Tokens of present Death from their Hands, they might rest themselves assured that they should never induce him to alter his Sentiments, unless it should happen that by the Arrival of Reinforcements or of heavy Artillery in the Enemy's Camp, or by some other Accident, the Danger of their Ruin should

A. D.

1521.

Controuls
their De-
sire to sur-
render.

A. D.

1521.

should overbalance the Hopes of their Defence. With these Words he abruptly quitted the Council, partly to leave his Speeches founding in their Ears, and imprinted in their Breasts with the greater Authority, and partly to give Orders about many Things which were necessary if the Enemy, as it was expected, were resolved to give the Assault that Day, leaving the Assembly in Suspense, and in a kind of Astonishment for a long Time. At last Fear prevailing above all other Considerations, they resolved, whatever might happen, to send out Deputies to treat about surrendering the Town, and ordered some of their Number to wait on the Commissary, and protest that, if he obstinately persisted in refusing his Consent for consulting their own Safety, they were disposed to do it by themselves, in order to avoid the most evident Danger of a Sack. But, just at the Time when the Message was ready to be delivered, Shoutings began to be heard from those who were appointed to guard the Gates and the Walls, and the Bells of the highest Tower in the City by their Ringing

Ringing gave Notice that the Enemy was advancing from the *Codiponte* in regular

A. D.
1521.

Order to give the Assault, and were approached the Wall. The Commissary on this Occasion, turning himself to the Messengers, who had not yet spoken, said to the People "It is too late now to think of an Agreement tho' we should be all of the same Mind; we have nothing to do but to defend ourselves honourably, or submit like Cowards to be plundered or taken Prisoners, unless you are willing to run the Fate of *Ravenna* and *Capua*, which were entered and plundered while they were treating of an Agreement with the Enemy under their Walls. I myself have hitherto done as much as it was possible for one Man to do, and have, with an Eye to your Advantage, brought you into such a Situation as renders it necessary for you either to conquer or to die. If it lay in my Power alone to defend the City, I should not be wanting to its Defence; but since that is not to be done without your Assistance, shew yourselves therefore no less resolute and ardent to defend, as you easily may, your Lives and Effects,

with

A. D. with the Honour of your Wives and
 1521 Children, than you had been eager and
 importunate in your Desires to throw
 yourselves, without any Necessity, under
 Subjection to the *French*, whom you
 know to be all your most capital Ene-
 mies."

AFTER these Words he turned his
 Horse another Way, and every one re-
 maining confounded with Fear, and con-
 vinced that it was now too late to have
 Recourse to other Remedies, laid aside all
 Thoughts of a Capitulation. And indeed
 it was necessary to attend to their Defence,
 for a Part of the Enemies, with a vast Num-
 ber of Ladders, which they had got toge-
 ther in the Country the Day before, ap-
 proached a Bastion which *Federigo* had for-
 merly caused to be erected on the Side to-
 wards the *Po*, and attacked it with great
 Vigour; and at the same time another Body
 gave a very furious Assault on the Gate that
 leads towards *Reggio*, while Attacks were
 also made in two other Places, with the
 greater Disadvantage to the Defendants as
 the Enemies were fresher, and stimulated
 by

THE WARS IN ITALY.

305

A. D.

1521.

by the Speeches of the Generals, especially of *Federigo*; and the Men of the Town being full of Terror, durst not, a very few excepted, approach the Wall, but for the most part chose rather to shut themselves up in their Houses, as if they expected every Moment the utter Destruction of the City. These Assaults lasted, with several Renewals, for the Space of four Hours, the Danger of the Defendants continually diminishing not only by the Weariness of the Enemy, who receiving nothing but Repulses and Wounds, and galled from different Quarters, began to lose Courage, but also because the Townsmen observing with what Ease the Defence was made, ran one after another with great Alacrity to the Wall, the Commissary in the mean while bestirring himself, and with great Sollicitude making the necessary Provisions every where; so that before the Assault was ended there was not only a Concourse of all the People, and even of those in religious Orders to fight in Defence of the Wall, but also the Women attended in great Multitudes, carrying Wine and

VOL. VII.

U

other

A. D.

1521.

French
repulsed
from
Parma.

other Refreshments to their Husbands and Relations. Hence the Enemies despairing of Success retired with considerable Loss of Men either killed or wounded to the *Codiponte*, which they abandoned the next Morning, and after resting a Day or two in the Neighbourhood of *Parma* returned beyond the *Po*. *Federigo* on this Occasion protested that Nothing in this Expedition, of which he had been the Author, had deceived him, if he had not thought it incredible that a Governor who was not a Man of War, and but newly come to that City, should chuse rather to expose himself to Danger without Hopes of Profit, since the Pontiff was dead, than to take the ready Measures for his own Preservation, which he might do without bringing upon himself any Dishonour or Disgrace.

THE Defence of *Parma* was of considerable Prejudice to the Affairs of the *French*, for it gave greater Spirits to the People of *Milan*, and to the other Inhabitants of that State to defend themselves, than they had before, especially as they knew

THE WARS IN ITALY. 307

knew that the Place had but a few Soldiers A. D.
1521. in it, and had received no Succours, for neither had any Motion been made from *Piacenza*, nor would the *Swiss* who were at *Modena*, nor *Guido Rangone* nor *Vitello*, send any Troops to the Relief of *Parma*. *Guido* alledged that tho' the Duke of *Ferrara*, after his unsuccessful Siege of *Cento* defended by the *Bolognese*, had, at the Coming of the *Swiss*, retired to *Finale*, it was still to be feared that if *Modena* were deprived of its Garrison he would come and attack that City. And as for the Bishop of *Pistoia*, he stood so long wavering and irresolute between the pressing Instances of *Guicciardini* and the Persuasions of *Vitello*, who for his own Interest, solicited him to march with the *Swiss* into *Romagna*, in order to prevent the Passage of the Duke of *Urbino*, that at last he failed them both. For *Parma* was defended of itself, and the Duke met with no Impediment in *Romagna*, because the *Swiss* at last would not move a Step before they had received their Pay. The Duke therefore accompanied by the two Brothers *Malatesta* and

A. D.

1521.

Gratio Baglioni, put themselves on their March, the first to recover the States he had lost, the others to return to *Perugia*, for which Purpose they had assembled at *Ferrara* Two Hundred Men at Arms, Three Hundred light Horse, and Three Thousand Foot, who, partly out of Friendship, partly in Hopes of Plunder, voluntarily followed them, for they could obtain no other Favour either of the *French* or *Venetians* than barely a Permission to take any of their Soldiers who were willing to serve under them, and the *Venetians* gave Leave to *Malatesta* and *Gratio* to quit their Service. The Duke then with the Brothers set out from *Ferrara* for *Lugo* by the *Po*, and meeting with no Opposition in the State of the Church, as soon as they approached the Borders of the State of *Urbino*, the Duke, invited by the People, speedily recovered his whole State, except what was in the Possession of the *Florentines*; and then turning his March to *Pesara* recovered the Town with the same Ease; and in a few Days afterwards the Castle; and then following his good Fortune expelled from

Duke of
Urbino
recovers
his State.

Came-

Camerino Giovan Maria da Varano, the
 antient Lord, who for the greater Splen-
 dor had obtained of *Leo* the Title of
 Duke, introducing in his Room *Gismondo*
 a Youth of the same Family, who pre-
 tended a better Right to that State; but
 the Castle held out for the Duke, who
 had taken Refuge in *Aquila*. After exe-
 cuting this Enterprize, the Duke with
Malatesta and *Oratio Baglioni* directed
 their March to *Perugia*, which the *Flo-*
rentines had undertaken to defend, not so
 much in pursuance of their own Counsel
 as in compliance with the Will of the
 Cardinal *de' Medici*, who was influenced
 by Hatred or Enmity conceived against
 the Duke of *Urbino* and the *Baglioni*, or
 imagining that their Neighbourhood might
 endanger his Authority in *Florence*, or
 because, as he aspired to the Pontificate,
 he was willing to gain the Reputation of
 being the sole Defender of the Church in
 the Vacation of the See. For the College
 of Cardinals took not the least Care to
 defend any Part of the ecclesiastic Domi-
 nion either in *Lombardy*, or in *Tuscany*,
 or any where else, partly because the Car-

A. D.

1521.

A. D.
1521.

dinals were divided into different Factions, and every one was deeply intent on Projects for advancing himself to the Pontificate, and partly because *Leo* had left no Sum of Money either in the Papal Treasury, nor in the Castle of *Sant' Angelo*. For that Pope by his Prodigality had not only wasted the Treasure accumulated by *Julius*, and the incredible Sums raised from Offices newly created, with a Diminution of Forty Thousand Ducats of the yearly Revenue of the Church, but had left her vastly in Debt, and had pawned all the Jewels and precious Things of the pontifical Treasury; so that it was wittily said by a certain Person, "other Pontificates ended at the Death of the Popes, but that of *Leo* continued several Years after his Decease." The College only sent Archbishop *Orsino* to *Perugia*, in order to treat of some Agreement with the *Baglioni*, but that Prelate being suspected by *Gentile* on account of his Relation by Kindred to the Sons of *Gian Pagolo*, and propounding to him Conditions which he thought insufficient for his Security, the Treaty came to Nothing; so that on the

THE WARS IN ITALY. 311

the last Day but one of the Year the *A. D.*
 Duke of Urbino, *Malatesta*, *Oratio Bag-* *1521.*
lioni, and *Camillo Orsino*, which last was
 followed by some Volunteers, who had
 newly joined them, went and encamped
 at the Bridge of *San Janni*, whence ex-
 tending themselves as far as *Bastia* and
 the neighbouring Places, they infested Day
 and Night the City of *Perugia*. Within
 this Place besides Five Hundred Foot in
 the Pay of *Gentile*, the *Florentines*, who
 by the Duke's turning his Arms against
Pesaro had Time to provide for the De-
 fence of that City, had put Two Thou-
 sand Foot and One Hundred light Horse
 under *Guido Vaina*, and One Hundred
 and Twenty Men at Arms and One Han-
 dred light Horse commanded by *Vitello*.

IN the mean time the Affairs of the
Milaneſe were in a perfect Stagnation, and
 nothing was attempted by either Party
 but Plunder and Excurſions. By this
 Method the more effectually to diſtreſs
 the Places held by the Church, the *French*
 who remained in *Cremona*, to the Number
 of Two Thouſand Foot, laid a Bridge

A. D. over the *Po*, by which means they made frequent Inroads into the *Piacentine* and *Parmigian*, and infested the whole Country. And tho' *Prospero*, at the Sollicitations of the other Generals gave out that he would besiege *Trezzo*, and the Artillery was on the Road for that Purpose, yet he never put his Design in Execution, alledging that it was not proper that the Army should be employed about one Place, but be always in Readiness to succour the State of the Church if the *French* should offer to invade it. But in this Respect his Words did not seem to agree with his Sentiments, for when he had Notice that the Enemy was marched to make an Attempt on *Parma* he gave no Sign that he intended to succour the Place, but said that it was necessary to expect the Event, nay when *Piacenza* was abandoned, and remained without a Garrison, on the sudden Departure of the *Zurichan Swifs* by the Commandment of their Superiors, *Prospero* did his utmost to prevent the Marquis of *Mantoua* from marching with his Troops thither from *Milan*, tho' the Marquis by his Presence in

Prospero
censured.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 313

in *Piacenza* with the Troops of his own Dominion, and sometimes advancing a Sum of Money as Necessity required, acquitted himself with the highest Honour in the Preservation of that City.

NOR was there any Provision made against so dangerous a Juncture by the Election of a new Pontiff, which, to the very great Prejudice of the ecclesiastic State was deferred to give Time to the absent Cardinals to repair to *Rome*, and also by the Detention of the Cardinal of *Jurea* in his Way from *Turin* to *Rome*, in the State of *Milan*, by the Orders of *Prospero Colonna*, that he might not be present at the Conclave, because he was in the *French* Interest. On this Account the College made a Decree that the Entrance into the Conclave should be delayed for as many Days as Cardinal *Jurea* had been, or should be for the future stopped from proceeding on his Journey. At length upon his Release the Conclave was shut on the 27th Day of *December*, in which were present thirty-nine Cardinals, so greatly was their Number multiplied

A. D. 1521. plied by the immoderate Promotion made by *Leo*, at whose Creation no more than four and twenty Cardinals were assembled.

1522. THE first Tranfaction of the Year 1522 was the Revolution in the State of *Perugia*, which was brought about, as every one imagined, more by the Cowardice of the Defendants than by the Valour of those who attacked the Place. The Enemy, being increased with a Body of Volunteers, and amounting to the Number of Two Hundred Men at Arms, Three Hundred light Horse, and Five Thousand Foot, possessed themselves of the Suburb of *San Pietro*, which was abandoned by the Garrison, and having ruined the Defences in several Places with seven Field Pieces lent them by the Duke of *Ferrara*, on the Fourth Day of the new Year gave the Assault with a vast Number of Scaling-Ladders at the Gates of *San Pietro*, *Sogli* and *Brogni*, and at several other Quarters. The Assault began at Daybreak, and with several Abate-ments of its Fury, may be said to have continued almost the whole Day; and tho'

THE WARS IN ITALY.

315

tho' in two or three Places the Enemy entered the Town, which was only defended by the Soldiers, for the Inhabitants would not stir, they were still beaten out again with considerable Loss. Hence *Gentile* and the *Florentine* Commissary were in high Spirits, and flattered themselves they should as easily defend the Place Day after Day. But the Timorousness of *Vittello* was the Cause that Things had a far different Event; for he fearing that the People being more inclined to the Sons of *Gian Pagolo* than to *Gentile* would make some Commotion in their Favour, and it appearing to him of no small Importance that the Enemies had their Quarters in the Suburbs between the two Gates of *San Piero* *, but above all induced by a Suspicion he had entertained that in case of ill Success his own Life was in Danger on account of the Hatred, which he knew he had incurred, of the Duke of *Urbino* and the Sons of *Gian Pagolo*, gave Notice in the Night to the other Generals that he intended to be gone,

* The Gate of the City and that of its corresponding Suburb had the same Name.

A. D. 1522. gone, alledging that his Stay could be of no manner of Service. For the Day before in the Time of the Assault, he received a Shot in the little Toe of his right Foot, which pained him to such a Degree that he was forced to keep his Bed. And tho' *Gentile* and the others endeavoured with many Intreaties to induce him to alter his Resolution, demonstrating to him how much his Departure would dishearten the Soldiers and the People of the City, yet finding him obstinate they determined to follow him. Thus in that same Night they went away to *Citta di Castello*, and *Perugia* received within its Walls the Brothers *Baglioni*, to the incredible Surprise of all those who, having received Notice by Letters written the same Night of the happy Success obtained against the Enemy the Day before, had Intelligence a few Hours after that *Vitello* and the rest had cowardly abandoned their Posts.

The *Baglioni* restored to *Perugia*.

THE Election of a new Pontiff had not as yet taken Effect, being delayed by the Disagreement between the Cardinals, which

which was principally occasioned by the Cardinal *de' Medici*. For that Prelate, A. D.
1522. aspiring to the Pontificate, and bearing a great Sway on account of his Grandeur and vast Revenues, and from the Glory he had acquired by the Reduction of *Milan*, had gained over to himself the Votes of Fifteen other Cardinals, induced either by their own Interests, or on the Score of Friendship, or by the Favours they had received from *Leo*, and some of them by the Hopes that, since they despaired of obtaining the Pontificate for themselves, he would become a Favourer of those who should shew themselves ready to espouse his Interests. But many Objections concurred to cross his Desires; for to many of the Cardinals it appeared of pernicious Consequence, that a deceased Pontiff should be succeeded by one of the same Family, as shewing a Precedent for making the Popedom descend by hereditary Succession. He was opposed by all the old Cardinals, who, having Pretensions of their own to so high a Dignity, thought it intolerable that a Person under Fifty Years of Age should be preferred before

A. D.

1522.

before them. Among his Opposers were also all those of the Imperial Faction: For Cardinal *Colonna*, tho' at the Beginning he had shown himself ready to vote in his Favour, acted afterwards very openly in defeating his Measures; but his most bitter Enemies were those Cardinals who had been dissatisfied with *Leo*. There was however, in the Midst of these Difficulties one Circumstance which most effectually supported his Hopes, since his Adherents were more than a Third of the College, and while they kept themselves united no Election could be made without their Consent. Hence he was in Hopes that by Length of Time his Adversaries, among whom were many by Age incapable of bearing long Fatigue, would either be tired out, or separate from one another; besides, tho' they agreed among themselves in not creating him they disagreed about creating others, each proposing to himself his own Election or that of his Friends, and many of them most obstinately bent not to yield one to another. But the Revolution in the State of *Perugia* mollified in some measure

THE WARS IN ITALY.

319

sure the Obstinacy of the Cardinal *de' Medici*, through the Instances of Cardinal *de' Retrucci*, one of his Adherents.

A. D.

1522.

This Cardinal, who was at the Head of the Administration in *Siena*, being apprehensive that by his Absence the Affairs of that City, on which he understood that the Duke of *Urbino* designed to turn his Arms, would undergo some considerable Change, eagerly solicited the Election of a new Pope. At his Instances, accompanied with an interested Regard to the Danger which the Government of *Florence* would incur from any Change in the Administration of Affairs at *Siena*, the Cardinal *de' Medici* began to incline to an Election, but was not quite determined as to the Person he would have chosen. But it happened one Morning in the Conclave that while a Scrutiny *

was

When each Cardinal has put his Billet with the Name of the Person whom he has chosen into a Chalice, and it appears by these Billets that one Cardinal has got two Thirds of the Votes, such a one is then said to be elected by Scrutiny. But there are two other Ways of electing a Pope, which are by Access and Adoration; By Access is when the Election is made by a Concurrence of Voices without writing in Billets. By way of Adoration is when two Thirds of the Cardinals without expecting a Scrutiny come to salute and adore a Person as Pope.

A. D. 1522. was making according to Custom, there was proposed *Adrian* Cardinal of *Tortosa*, by Nation a *Fleming*, but who had been a Tutor to *Cæsar* in his Childhood, and by his Means promoted by *Leo* to the Cardinalship, and was at that Time *Cæsar's* Lieutenant in *Spain*. But tho' the Proposal was made without an Inclination in any one to agree to his Election, and only to waste away the Morning, yet some Votes beginning to appear in his Favour, the Cardinal of *San Sisto* took occasion to make an Harangue in Praise of his excellent Qualities and Learning, on which he enlarged almost without ceasing till he had induced some of the Cardinals to yield to his Reasons, and then the rest, one after another, more by Impulse than Deliberation, followed their Example. Thus was *Adrian*, by the unanimous Consent of the whole Conclave, that Pope *Adrian VI* Morning elected Sovereign Pontiff, the very Persons who had chose him not knowing how to give a Reason why they had, in so troublesome and dangerous a Situation of the State of the Church, elected for Pope a Barbarian, absent in a far

THE WARS IN ITALY. 321

far distant Country, one who had not *A D.*
 either by past Favours, Merit or Conver- *1522.*
 sation, ingratiated himself with any of
 the other Cardinals, who hardly knew
 him by Name, and one who had never
 seen *Italy*, or had any Thoughts or Hopes
 of seeing it. The sacred College having
 no Reason to offer in Justification of so
 extraordinary a Step, excused themselves
 by transferring the Cause on the Holy
 Ghost, who is wont, as they said, to in-
 spire the Hearts of the Cardinals in the
 Election of Popes. *Adrian* received the
 News of his Election at *Vittoria*, a City
 of *Biscay*, on which Advice he would
 assume no other Name than what he had
 before, but passed under the Denomina-
 tion of *Adrian* the Sixth.

A CHANGE being effected in the State
 of *Perugia*, after the Troops had for
 some Days remained unactive with con-
 siderable Prejudice to their other Designs,
 the Duke of *Urbino* and the other Com-
 manders, intending to make Collections
 of Money from their Friends, marched
 away from *Perugia* and *Todi*, to which

A. D. last Place *Camillo Orsino* had restored the

1522.

Exiles, and leaving *Malatesta* in *Perugia* advanced with great Speed towards *Siena*. They were attended by *Lattantio Petrucci*, whom *Leo* had deprived of the Bishopric of *Soana*, because *Borghese* and *Fabio*, Sons of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, had been forbidden by the Imperial Ministers to depart out of *Naples*. In *Siena* the Regency had no other Hopes than in procuring the Assistance of the *Florentines* by means of the Correspondence which they held with the Cardinal *de' Medici*. At his Instances those of his Party who governed the State of *Florence* in his Absence, as soon as they heard that the Duke was marched from *Perugia* immediately ordered to *Siena Guido Vaina* with One Hundred light Horse, and Money to raise an additional Body of Foot to those which had been listed by the *Senese*. But their principal Dependance was on the Forces which had been provided many Days before; for as soon as they had been informed of the first Motion of the Duke of *Urbino* and the *Baglioni*, being under Concern for the Affairs of *Tuscany* they had treated

of

THE WARS IN ITALY. 323

of taking into Pay the *Swiss* of the Canton of *Bern*, who to the Number of above A. D.
1522. One Thousand had stopped with the Bishop of *Pistoia* at *Cologna*, despising the Orders they had received from their Superiors to return to *Swisserland*. The Negotiation of this Treaty, tho' on account of many Difficulties raised by the Bishop of *Pistoia*, who was desirous of presenting these Troops to the future Pope, it was spun out to a greater Length than Necessity required, was at last concluded at a very great Expence; there were beside taken into Pay an additional Number of Four Hundred German Foot which had joined with the *Swiss* in *Bologna*. They had also called *Giovanni de' Medici* from *Lombardy*, and did not doubt but with these Succours, provided they arrived in due Season, to secure the Affairs of *Siena*; which were however in a very dangerous Situation, because the greater Part of the People were Enemies to the present Government, and out of their antient Hatred of the *Florentines* were universally dissatisfied, and could not with Patience endure that their Troops should enter *Siena*. And

A. D.

1522.

the Danger was increased by the Absence of Cardinal *Petrucchi*, and tho' his Nephew *Francesco*, who supplied his Place, did all that was in his Power to support the Administration, his Authority had not so much Weight as that of the Cardinal. As soon therefore as the Duke of *Urbino* had entered the Territory of *Siena*, the *Senese* sent, without Controul from the chief Men of the City, who were intent on making their Flight, and on avoiding, at any Rate, the present Danger, Ambassadors to enter into a Treaty with him. The Duke at first insisted on an Alteration in the Government and Thirty Thousand Ducats, but afterwards moderated his Demands in such a Manner as made it strongly apprehended that either by Consent of those in the Regency, or by some Movement of the People contrary to the Magistracy's Intentions, some Composition would be made between the Duke and the *Senese*. But when the *Florentine* Troops continued to enter *Siena*, and a Report was spread that *Giovanni de' Medici* was not far off with the *Swiss*, those who were averse to an Agreement were the more encouraged to

THE WARS IN ITALY.

325

to prevent its being brought to a Conclusion. So that when the Duke approached the Walls of *Siena*, having no more than Seven Thousand Men in his Army, and those collected of all Sorts, after staying a Day the Hopes of an Accommodation diminishing, and the *Swiss* approaching within a Days Journey, he decamped from before *Siena* in order to return to his own Dutchy. The same Troops that had succoured *Siena* now turned their March towards *Perugia*, the *Florentines* laying hold on the Opportunity to gratify their own eager Desires from the Sollicitations of the College of Cardinals, by whose Authority the State of the Church is governed in the Absence of a Pope, for which Reason the Cardinal of *Cortona*, who had been Legate of *Perugia* since the Time of *Leo*, marched in Person with the Army.

A. D.

1522

Duke of
Urbino

miscarries
before

Siena.

BUT the College shewed no more Union nor Constancy after the Creation of the Pontiff than they had done in the Conclave, on the contrary they varied more than ever. For they had appointed

X 3

that

A. D.
1522.

that each Month the Administration of Affairs should be in the Hands of three Cardinals under the Name of Priors, whose Office was to assemble the others, and to give Orders for the Execution of the Resolutions. Three then of those who had newly entered on their Office, and opposed the Cardinal *de' Medici*, who immediately after the Election of a Pope had returned to *Florence*, began to exclaim against the *Florentines* for molesting the Towns of the Church, for they had plundered the Town of *Passignano* for refusing to give them Quarters, and afterwards took up their Quarters at *Olmo* three Miles from *Perugia* in almost certain Hopes of getting Possession of that City, and would have despised the Orders of the Priors if they had not soon discovered that their Hopes were ill grounded. For the *Baglioni* had got into *Perugia* a great Number of Soldiers, and their Authority with the People was much greater than

Design of
the *Flo-*
rentines
on *Peru-*
gia fru-
strated.

that of *Gentile* who followed the Army. Despairing therefore of Success, and having in vain attempted a Composition, they quitted the *Perugine*, under a Pretence that

THE WARS IN ITALY. 327

A. D.

1522.

that they had no Intention to resist the Will of the College, and entered into the *Monte Feltro*, which except *San Leo* and the Castle of *Marvolo*, had returned in Subjection to the Duke of *Urbino*, who having easily recovered it, there was a Cessation of Arms as it were by tacit Consent on that Side: For the Duke was not potent enough to continue the War against the *Florentines*, nor had that People any Reason, either for their own Profit or for the Satisfaction of others, to molest the Duke, because the College, of whom the Adversaries of the Cardinal *de' Medici* were the strongest Party, had at the same time agreed with the Duke that he should keep Possession of his recovered State till the Arrival of the Pontiff in *Italy*, and afterwards during the Pope's Pleasure, on condition that he should not molest the *Florentines* nor *Senese*, nor enter into the Service of any Prince nor any ways assist him.

THE Affairs of *Lombardy* had hitherto proceeded in a peaceable Course, through the Want of Men on one Side, and of

X 4

Money

A. D.
1522.

Money on the other. Wherefore the Imperial Troops refusing to move out of their Quarters before they were paid, *Giovanni da Saffatello* only with his own Regiment, and with the other Soldiers and Subjects of the Dutchy of *Milan*, was ordered to lay Siege to *Alessandria*. That Officer in the Beginning of the War had exchanged a certain Benefit for uncertain Hopes, by quitting the Service of the *Venetians* and entering into the Pay of the Duke of *Milan*, while he was yet an Exile from his State. On his Approach *Alessandria* taken by the Forces of the League. to *Alessandria* the Rashness of the *Guelfs* of that Place, by whom it was defended more than by the *French* Soldiers, facilitated what all had accounted a difficult Enterprise. For proving too weak to sustain the Shock of the Enemy upon whom they had sallied in order to skirmish, they gave them an Opportunity to enter with them promiscuously into the City, which was pillaged by the Conquerors. And a few Days after with the same Facility were some *French* Troops driven out of *Asli*, into which City they had been introduced by

THE WARS IN ITALY.

329

by some of the *Guelf* Faction belonging to the Place. A. D. 1522.

BUT now this short and dubious State of Tranquility appeared but as a Prelude to very great Disorders; for though there had been very warm Debates in the Diets of the *Swiss* on the Demands of the King of *France*, the Cantons of *Zurich* and *Schmitz* being obstinately bent against him, and that of *Lucern* wholly disposed in his Favour, the other Cantons divided among themselves, and the Affairs of the Public confounded by the Avarice of private Men, many of whom demanded of the King some Pensions, some old Debts, yet they had at last granted the Foot demanded for the Recovery of the Dutchy of *Milan*. *Swiss*
grant
Troops to
the French These Troops, in Number above Ten Thousand, were already on their Descent into *Lombardy* by the Mountains of *San Bernardino* and *San Gotardo*, under the Conduct of the Bastard of *Savoy*, and of *Galeazzo da San Severino*, this the Grand Ecuyer, and the other the Grand Master of *France*. To provide against this Movement *Cæsar* having borrowed a large Sum of

A. D.

1522.

of Money of the King of *England*, who had renounced his Friendship with the *French*, had ordered to *Trent* *Girolamo Adorno*, with a Commission to raise Six Thousand *German* Foot, and to conduct them, together with the Person of *Francesco Sforza*, to *Milan*. The Presence of *Sforza* was at that Time reckoned of great Moment for keeping the more secure Possession of *Milan* and of the other Towns of the State, which highly desired him, and to facilitate the raising of Money, of which there was an extreme Want, by virtue of his Favour and Authority. At the same time the Provision made by *Cæsar* being unknown at *Milan*, the *Milanese* had sent Money to *Trent* for raising Four Thousand Foot, which being in Readiness at *Adorno's* Arrival there he immediately put himself in Motion with them, while the other Six Thousand were in Levy, towards *Milan*, by the Valley of the *Valtelina* that leads to *Como*. But the *Grisons* refusing them Passage they suddenly turned their Way into their Territory of *Bergamo*, and from thence to the *Ghiaradadda* with such Speed that the *Venetian* Officers who were in

THE WARS IN ITALY. 331

in *Bergamo* had no Time to prevent them; A. D. 1522.
 and after they had made their Way to *Milan* they returned with the same Expedition to *Trent*, for conducting *Francesco Sforza* and the other Troops to *Milan*. In this City, besides other Provisions, vast Pains were taken to increase the Hatred of the People, which was very great, against the *French*, that they might with the greater Alacrity be ready to stand upon their Defence, and be ready to relieve the public Necessities out of their own private Purfes. This Design was greatly promoted by counterfeit Letters, by false Messages, and by many other Arts and Inventions owing to the Industry and Cunning of *Marone*.

BUT these Measures were yet more assisted, and even beyond Belief, by the A Preaching Friar.
 Preaching of *Andrea Barbato*, an *Austin* Friar, who in his Sermons, surrounded by a vast Concourse of People, exhorted the Citizens in most pathetic Strains to stand upon their own Defence, since it had pleased God to grant them the Power to free themselves from the Yoke of the Barbarians,

A. D.

1522.

Barbarians, who had been the greatest Enemies to that City. He alledged the Example of *Parma*, a small and weak City in comparison of *Milan*: He set before them the Examples of their Ancestors, who had made their Name glorious thro' all *Italy*: He shewed them the Duty incumbent on all Men to exert their utmost for the Preservation of their Country, for the Sake of which if Heathens, who expected no other Reward than Fame, freely exposed themselves to Death, how great is the Obligation laid upon Christians, to whom, if they die in so pious a Work, is proposed, besides the Glory and Honour of this World, an immortal Life in the Kingdom of Heaven! They should consider with themselves, he told them, the Destruction that must be brought on that City by the Success of the *French*, from whom, if they had before, without any Cause, met with such bitter and vexatious Treatment, what must they now expect when they thought themselves highly offended and injured? No Punishments that could be inflicted on the People of *Milan* would be sufficient to satisfy their Cruelty and

and immense Hatred, not all the Substance *A. D.*
of that City would be reckoned enough to *1522.*
satiare their Avarice, and they would never
rest contented without the utter Extinction
of the very Name and Memory of the
Milanese, and making them an horrible
Example surpassing the savage Barbarity
of *Frederic Barbarossa*. By this Means the
Hatred of the People of *Milan* against the
French, and the Dread of their Success
were worked up to such a Height that it
became necessary rather to moderate than
to provoke them.

IN the mean time *Prospero* attended
with vast Diligence to the Reparation of
the Bastions, and Ramparts of the Ditches,
and putting them in a good State of De-
fence, with an Intention to stay in *Milan*,
where, though the Six Thousand *Germans*
should not arrive, he was in Hopes to
maintain himself for some Months. At
the same time, neglecting the Care of
other Towns, he had ordered *Filippo Tor-*
niello to *Novara*, and *Monsignorino Vis-*
conti to *Alessandria*, one with Two Thou-
sand, and the other with Fifteen Hun-
dred

A. D. 1522. dred *Italian* Foot, who, because they were not paid, lived on the People. To *Pavia* he sent *Antonio da Leva* with Two Thousand *German* and a Thousand *Italian* Foot, and kept with him in *Milan* Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Seven Hundred light Horse, and Twelve Thousand Foot. The City still remained in imminent Danger of being entered by the *French* from the Castle; to prevent which, and by the same Expedient to deprive them of the Power of putting Victuals, or other Kinds of Provisions into the Castle, he set about a Work highly celebrated for its Invention, and in the Opinion of the Public almost stupendous. For without the Castle, between the Gates that lead to *Vercelli* and to *Como* he caused to be dug two Trenches, and raised of the Earth taken out of each of them a Bank, distant one from another about Twenty Paces, and extending about a Mile across so much of the Garden behind the Castle as lies between the two said Roads: And at each of the Heads of the Trenches he erected a very high and strong Cavalier, in order to plant Artillery on them for annoying the
the

the Enemy if they approached on that Side. These Trenches and Ramparts were guarded by Parties of Foot lodged in the Midst of them, and who at the same time prevented all Succours from entering the Castle, and all Egress of the Besieged. That this Invention should prove no less happy than it was ingenious, Fortune was pleased to demonstrate with a lucky Omen in the Beginning by granting that it should be put in Execution without any Loss. For *Prospero*, improving the Favour of Heaven, in a very deep Snow, ordered two Banks of it to be thrown up before Day, resembling those of which he designed to make Ramparts, and which secured the Workmen from being annoyed by the Artillery of the Castle*. And it happened, very seasonably for bringing these Works to Perfection, that the vast Quantities of Snow which covered the Mountains retarded the Passage of the Swifs.

At this Juncture *Lautrech*, having with some Troops sent over the Po surprised

* It was usual with the Northern People, as we are told by *Olaus Magnus*, to erect Forts, Redoubts and other Fortifications of Ice.

A. D. 1522. } prised the Regiment of light Horse of
Luigi da Gonzaga in *Fiorenzuola*, who
 were found carelessly asleep, reviewed his
 Forces ; and those of the *Venetians* under
Andrea Gritti and *Teodora da Trivulzi* as-
 sembled themselves about *Cremona*. These
 Troops being at length joined by the *Swiss*
 passed the River *Adda* on the first Day of
March, the chief Command of the Army
 being settled on *Lautrech*, whose Autho-
 rity suffered no Derogation by the Arrival
 of the Grand Master and the Grand Ecuyer.
 At the same time arrived in this Army
Giovanni de' Medici, who had closely
 treated about entering into the Service of
Francesco Sforza, and had now set out in-
 tending for *Milan* where his Presence was
 heartily desired on account of the mighty
 Expectations from his Valour. Being sti-
 mulated, however, by the greater and
 more certain Pay of the King of *France*,
 and alledging that the Money promised
 him had not been sent from *Milan*; he
 marched out of the Territory of *Parma*,
 where he had plundered the Town of
Busseto for refusing him Quarters, and
 passed to the *French* Camp, which lay
 two

two Miles from the Castle of *Milan* between the Roads to *Vercelli* and *Como*. A. D. 1521.

The Army, on the third Day after their *French* Arrival, moved in Order of Battle, and *Army* made a Show as if they intended to attack *before* the Ramparts, but did not put it in Execution, either because *Lautrech* had no such Intention at first, or because having considered the Number of Soldiers that were in the Place, the Disposition of the People, and the Alacrity of the Defendants, he was deterred by the manifest Difficulties attending the Enterprize. The same Day *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, a General Officer in high Reputation, and *Camillo Trivulzio*, a natural Son of *Gianjacopo*, were killed by the Stones of a House that was shattered by the Artillery from the Town, as they were passing together near that House, and giving Orders for erecting a Cavalier that should play with its Cannon between the two Ramparts of the Enemy. But *Lautrech*, having no Hopes of taking *Milan* by Force, imagined that he should obtain the Conquest of it by Length of Time; and considering that by the Multitude of his Forces,

VOL. VII. Y and

A. D.

1522.

and the great Number of Fugitives that followed him, he had the Liberty of making Excursions through the greatest Part of the Country, and by that means of giving sufficient Obstruction to the Conveyance of Provisions into the Town, had caused all the Mills to be broken, and the Water to be turned out of the Canals by which the Place received its chief Supplies. He was in Hopes also that the Troops in Garrison would come to want their Pay, since they subsisted on the Money advanced by the *Milanese*, for they received but very small Remittances from *Cesar*, and from the Kingdom of *Naples* and other Places. But so inveterate was the Hatred of the People of *Milan* to the Name of the *French* and so ardent their Desires of the new Duke, that enduring with Patience every Inconvenience they not only persisted in their Resolution in spite of so many Vexations, but put the Youth of the City in Arms, and elected in each Parish a Captain, assisting with the greatest Readiness in mounting the Guard both Day and Night in Places remote from the Army, to the great Relief

THE WARS IN ITALY. 339

of the Soldiers in their Fatigues; and the Destruction of the Mills at this Time A. D. 1522.

occasioning a Want of Meal, they soon provided against this Inconvenience by erecting Mills that worked without Water.

THE State of the War thus changing from the Hopes of a speedy Conquest to the Cares and Fatigues of a tedious Blockade, the Duke of Milan, whose Departure had been for many Days delayed for Want of Money, and would have been deferred much longer if the Cardinal de' Medici had not assisted him with Nine Thousand Ducats, set out at last from Trent with Six Thousand German Foot, and seizing on the Castle of Croata, subject to the Venetians, in order to open himself a Passage, proceeded without Opposition through the Veronese, and from thence through the Mantouan, and passing the Po at Casal Maggiore arrived at Piacenza, from whence, being attended by the Marquis of Mantoua with Three Hundred Men at Arms of the Church, he removed to Pavia where he rested,

Duke of Milan arrives at Pavia.

A. D.

1522.

watching all Opportunities that might favour his Passage to *Milan* where his Arrival was extremely desired, because the Methods used for raising Money to maintain the Soldiers becoming every Day less effectual, it was judged necessary to join as soon as possible with the *Germans*, in order to take the Field, and endeavour to bring the War to an Issue. But the Difficulty lay in finding a Passage. For as soon as *Lautrech* had Advice of the Duke's Arrival at *Piacenza*, he removed his Camp to *Casino* five Miles distant from *Milan* on the Road to *Pavia*, having ordered the *Venetians* to *Rinasco* on the same Road, both Armies being strongly intrenched. After they had remained in this Situation for some Days, making themselves Masters in the mean time of *Sant' Angelo* and *San Columbano*, *Lautrech* received Advice that his Brother *L'Escud* who had returned with Money from *France*, whither he had gone to represent to the King the State of Affairs, after inlisting some Foot at *Genoa*, was arrived in the State of *Milan*. On this he ordered *Federigo da Bozzolo* to join him with Four Hundred

THE WARS IN ITALY. 341

Hundred Lances, and Seven Thousand *A. D.*
Swiss and *Italian* Foot. The Marquis of *Mantoua* having Notice of their Coming, *1522.*

Mantoua having Notice of their Coming, marched out of *Pavia* to *Gambalo* in order to oppose them. But either because the Enemy made a Feint, as he said himself, of retiring towards the *Tesino*, and therefore he thought his Stay at *Gambalo* no longer necessary, or as I rather believe, because he was afraid of them, since their Number appeared greater than it had been reported, he marched back to *Pavia*. But *Federigo* advanced to *Gambalo*, and joining *L'Escud* they proceeded together to *Novara*, and with the Artillery taken from the Castle, which held out for the *French*, battered the Town, and took it by Force at the third Assault, in which the greatest Part of the Garrison were killed, and *Filippo Torniello* remained Prisoner. On the first Notice of this Misfortune the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who had been solicited by Letters and frequent Messages from *Torricello* to come to his Relief, and was again marched from *Pavia*, drew his Troops out of *Vigevano*,

leaving

A. D. leaving only a Garrison in the Castle, and
 1522. returned to *Pavia*.

THE Conjunction with *L'Escud*, and the Acquisition of *Novara* by the French turned to their Prejudice in a Case of more Importance, since it facilitated the March of *Francesco Sforza* with the German Infantry to *Milan*. The Duke, as he had appointed with *Prospero*, one Night with great Secrecy departed from *Pavia*, leaving for its Defence Two Thousand Foot and Three Hundred Horse under the Command of the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who unwilling to remove at so great a Distance from the State of the Church refused to proceed any further, and marching by a different Road from the direct was heartily received at *Sesto* by *Prospero*, who had gone out with Part of the Troops to meet him, and conducted to *Milan*. He was received with inexpressible Joy by the People, every one on this Occasion reviving in Memory the lively Idea of the happy Times that passed during the Administration of the Duke's Father, and of the other Dukes of

Duke
 joyfully
 received
 at *Milan*.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 343

of *Milan* his Predecessors of the Name of *A. D.*
Sforza, and they were passionately desirous 1522.
to have a Prince of their own, as one who
would be a greater Lover of his People,
more obliged to respect and pay a greater
Regard to his Subjects, and not despise them
on account of his immoderate Greatness.

THE Departure of the Duke from
Pavia put *Lautrech* in Hopes of making
himself Master of that City, wherefore
he assembled his Army with all Expedi-
tion, and laid Siege to it. On the other
Side *Prospero* knowing the manifest Dan-
ger of the Place detached thither with
utmost Speed One Thousand *Corfican* and
some *Spanish* Foot, who arriving near
the *French* Camp, and falling suddenly
into their Quarters, made their Way
through it, partly by fighting, partly by
marching, and after killing many of the
Enemy got safe into *Pavia*, where besides
other Inconvenience was a Want of Gun-
powder. *Lautrech* in the mean time
erected two Batteries against the Walls of
Pavia, one at the Suburb of *Santa Maria*
in *Portica*, towards the *Tesino*, and the
Lautrech
besieges
Pavia in
vain.
Y 4
other

A. D.

1522.

other at *Borgoratto*, and having made a Breach of thirty Braces he gave an Assault, but in vain. Perceiving therefore the Besieged to keep themselves well on their Guard, and disposed to defend themselves, he began to despair of the Enterprize. He had many other Difficulties also to encounter; for the Money which his Brother had brought with him from *France* already began to fail, and there was no small Scarcity of Provisions occasioned by the heavy Rains which rendered their Conveyance by the *Tesino* very difficult, for the Boats were insufficient to bear up against the swelling Waters of the River, and were by no means capable of stemming the Violence of its Course.

PROSPERO at this Time having march-
ed with all his Army out of *Milan* in
order to approach *Pavia*, was prevented
by the same Rains, and obliged to stop at
Binasco in the Midway between *Milan*
and *Pavia*, from whence he afterwards
advanced to the Charterhouse, situated in
the Park five Miles from *Pavia*, and the
most beautiful Monastery perhaps in all
Italy.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

345

Italy. *Lautrech*, in Despair of taking *Pavia*, drew off his Army and retired to *Landriano*, without Molestation from the Enemy in his Decampment, except in some light Skirmishes. From *Landriano* he advanced to *Moncia*, for the better securing to himself a Sum of Money, which had been sent from *France*, and was lodged at *Arona*, because *Anchise Visconti*, who was sent from *Milan* to *Busto* near *Arona* on purpose to stop it, had prevented it from being forwarded. This Difficulty brought the Affairs of the *French* into the utmost Disorder; for the *Swiss*, whose Pay had now been delayed for many Days, growing impatient according to Custom, sent their Officers to *Lautrech* with grievous Complaints that the Troops of their Nation, which had on all Occasions been lavish of their Blood for the Advancement of the Crown of *France*, should, contrary to all Justice, be reduced to Necessity for want of their due Payments; and that such Avarice and Ingratitude were a Demonstration to all the World how little they were valued and esteemed for their Valour and Fidelity:

That

A. D.
1522.

Impati-
ence of
the *Swiss*.

A. D. 1522. That it was their Resolution, since they had waited so many Days in vain, to tarry no longer in Expectation of any Term, nor trust to Promises which had been so often repeated, and as often failed. They were therefore absolutely determined to return to their Habitations, after they had first manifested to the World that they were not induced to this Resolution by a Fear of the Enemy who had taken the Field, nor from a Desire of avoiding the Dangers to which military Men are subject, and which they always despised, according to the well known Character of the *Swiss*, verified by so many Trials: They therefore signified to him that they were ready to fight a Battle the next Day with an Intention to depart the Day after: That he should lead them to find out the Enemy, and lay hold of the Opportunity given him by their Readiness, and put them in the Front of the Army. That they did not doubt that since they had with a much smaller Force than they had at present conquered the *French* Army in their Intrenchments near *Novara*, they should carry Victory with

THE WARS IN ITALY.

347

with them into the Camp of the *Spaniards*, ^{A. D.}
 who, tho' they excelled the *French* in art-^{1522.}
 ful Stratagems, and laying Snares, they
 did not imagine superior to them in the
 open Field, where the Fight was to be
 managed by Stouthness of Heart, and Force
 of Arms. *Lautrech*, considering how
 dangerous it was to go and attack the
 Enemy in their strong Camp endeavoured
 to moderate their Indignation, assuring
 them that the Supplies of Money were
 retarded not by any Neglect in the King,
 but from the Danger of the Conveyance,
 but that they would however certainly
 arrive within a very few Days. But
 neither his Authority nor Reasons, nor
 Prayers nor Promises were sufficient to
 convince or stop them. He determined
 therefore, especially as they were to be
 foremost in the Danger, rather to run the
 Hazard of a Battle under great Disadvan-
 tage, than absolutely ruine the War by
 refusing to fight, which, it was manifest,
 would be the Event, since the *Swiss* had
 resolved, if he did not comply, to decamp
 and be gone.

THE

THE Enemy's Army was encamped at *Bicocca*, a Villa about three Miles distant from *Milan*, on which was a pretty large House surrounded with spacious Gardens, which were bounded by deep Ditches. The circumjacent Fields are full of Fountains and Rivulets, which have their Course directed, according to the Custom in *Lombardy*, for watering the Meadows. Towards this Place *Lautrech* marched with the Army, and judging that the Enemy who were so strongly posted would make a stout Defence, he ordered the Attack in the following Manner : The *Swiss* with the Artillery were to Assault the Front of the Camp, and the Artillery of the Enemy, which Post was guarded by the *German* Infantry under the Command of *George Fronasperge* : On the Left *L'Escud* with Three Hundred Lances and a Body of *French* and *Italian* Foot was directed to advance by the Way that leads from *Milan* towards the Bridge that gives an Entrance into the Enemy's Camp, and the General took upon himself the Charge of attempting to enter the Entrenchments

trenchments with a Body of Horſe rather by Stratagem than by open Force; for in order to deceive the Enemy he ordered every Horſeman to put a red Croſs upon his Cloak which was the Mark of the Imperialiſts, inſtead of the white Croſs, which was the Badge of the French Army. On the other Side *Proſpero Colonna*, who from the Strength of his Situation aſſured himſelf of the Victory, and therefore reſolved to expect, as he ſaid, the Enemy at the Ditch, as ſoon as he perceived their Coming put his Men in Order, and aſſigning to every one his Poſt, immediately ſent Orders for *Franceſco Sforza* with the armed Multitude of the People to haſten without Delay to the Army. The Duke having aſſembled, at the Sound of a Bell, Four Hundred Horſe, and Six Thouſand Foot, was, as ſoon as he arrived, appointed by *Proſpero* to guard the Bridge. But the *Swiſs*, on approaching the Camp, tho' by the Depth of the Ditches, which proved greater than they had imagined, they were prevented from attacking the Artillery, which was their firſt Hopes; were not in the leaſt daunted on that

Action at
Bicocca.

Account,

A. D.
1522.

Account, but with great Fierceness attacked the Ditch, and did all that was possible to pass it. At the same time *L'Escud* advancing to attack the Bridge found it so strongly guarded, contrary to his Expectations, that he was forced to retire. *Prospera* also quickly discovered the Artifice of *Lautrech*, and ordering his Men to put Twists of green Corn and Grass on the their Heads by that Means eluded his Stratagem. Hence the whole Brunt of the Battle was sustained by the *Swiss*, who from the Disadvantage of the Ground, and the Valour of the Defendants fatigued themselves to no Purpose, receiving very considerable Loss not only from those with whom they fought in Front, but from a large Body of *Spanish* Musqueteers, who being concealed among the Corn, which was almost ripe, terribly galled them in Flank, till at last they payed the Price of their Rashness with their Blood, being constrained to retreat with great Slaughter. They then joined the *French*, and all in a Body together with the Troops in Order, and with the Artillery, returned to *Moncia*, without

out sustaining any Loss in their Retreat. A. D.
1522.
 The Marquis of *Pescara* and the other
 Generals were importunate with *Prospero*
 that since he saw the Enemy had turned
 their Backs, he would give the Signal for
 the Troops to follow them; but the
 General believing, as the Truth was, that
 they retired in good Order, and not in
 manner of a Flight, and being the more
 assured of it by the Report of those who
 by his Orders had climbed some high
 Trees, constantly answered that he would
 not entrust again in the Power of Fortune
 the Victory which he had indisputably
 obtained, nor by his own Rashness cancel
 the Memory of that of others. "To-
 morrow, says he, will clearly manifest
 this Day's Work; for the Enemies being
 come to a better Feeling of their Wounds
 when grown cool, will lose their Cou-
 rage and pass the Mountains, by which
 means we shall obtain without Danger
 what to day you would have me attempt
 at our Peril." There were killed of the
Swiss in and near the Ditch about Three
 Thousand of those who distinguished for
 their Fierceness and Bravery were most
 forward

A. D. 1522. forward to expose themselves to Danger, and among them two and twenty Officers. On the other Side very few were killed; and no Person of Note except *Giovanni di Cordona* Count of *Culifano*, who received a Musquet Shot through his Helmet.

THE next Day *Lautrech* in Despair of Success, decamped from *Moncia*, in order to pass the River *Adda* near *Trezzo*, where the *Swiss* taking their Way through the Territory of *Bergamo*, returned to their Mountains, diminished in Number, but more in Boldness; since it is certain that the Loss they received at *Bicocca* humbled them to that Degree that for several Years afterwards they did not shew their accustomed Vigour. At the same time departed also the Grand Ecuyer and Grand Master, and many other *French* Officers. *Lautrech* with the Men at Arms betook himself to *Cremona*, to give Orders for the Defence of that Town, where he left his Brother, and a few Days after passed the Mountains, carrying back to his King not Victories or Triumphs, but a Justification of himself and Complaints

on

on others for the Loss of so fine a State, occasioned partly by his own Fault, partly through the Negligence and imprudent Counsels of those who were about the King, and partly, if Truth may be spoken*, by the Malignity of Fortune. *Lautrec* also, before he left *Cremona*, gave Orders to *Bonneval* and *Federigo da Bozzolo* to march with Six Troops of Men at Arms and a sufficient Number of Foot, and bestow themselves in Garrison at *Lodi*, a City which in the whole Course of the War had held out for the King. For the *Cæsarean* Generals had been prevented from immediately turning their Arms against that Place by a Mutiny of the German Foot which had attended *Francesco Sforza* from *Trent*. These Troops demanded a Donative of a Month's Wages as a Reward for the Victory, by which Act they required, as the Generals said, more than was their Due, for to defend one's self against an Assault, and to overcome the Aggressor are two different Cases; and it could not be said that the

VOL. VII.

Z

Enemies

* By this Expression the Author seems unwilling to ascribe any Part of the Glory to the *Italian Army*.

A. D.

1522.

Enemies had been routed or overcome, since they retired, not running away, but with their Troops in good Order, and saving their Artillery and Baggage. But the Insolence of the *German*s prevailed over the Reasons and Authority of the Generals, who were constrained at last to consent, and to promise Payment within a certain Time. But several Days being spent in this Dispute, it happened that on the same Day in which the *French* Lances entered the City of *Lodi*, their Foot advancing behind, the Imperial Army with the *Spanish* Infantry in Front under *Davalo* approached the Place on the other Side before the *French* had taken their Posts, and while all Things were in a Hurry and Confusion, as it happens when Men at Arms first enter a Town in order to take up their Quarters. The Marquis of *Pescara* laying hold of the Opportunity with the utmost Speed assaulted a walled Suburb of the City, and carried it after a slight Defence, at which all the *French*, that were in the City being terrified, because their Foot were not as yet entered, betook themselves to a disorderly Flight

THE WARS IN ITALY. 355

Flight towards the Bridge which they ^{A. D.} had laid over the *Adda*, and the *Spaniards* ^{1522.} at the same time entering the City over the Walls and Ramparts pursued them to the River, taking Numbers of Soldiers in their Flight, and almost all the Officers ^{Lodi} except *Federigo da Bozzolo* and *Bonneval*, ^{sacked by the Imperialists.} and in the same Career of Victory put the unhappy City to the Sack.

FROM *Lodi* the Marquis marched to *Pizzichitona* which surrendered to him on Articles, and soon after *Prospero* with the whole Army passed the River *Adda*, in order to besiege *Cremona*; but he had no sooner approached that City than *L'Escud* inclined to come to an Agreement; for as he had no Hopes of maintaining himself but by the Coming of the Admiral, (whom the King, being desirous to preserve the Places that still held out for him in that State, had ordered for *Italy* with Four Hundred Lances, and Ten Thousand Foot) he might think that he had sufficiently provided for his Affairs if, without running himself into Danger, he could at his Leisure expect the Issue of that Offi-

A. D. 1522. *cer's Arrival: And Prospero, on the other side, was desirous to make quick Dispatch of the Affair of Cremona that he might attempt the Restoration of the Brothers Adorni to Genoa before the Arrival of the Enemy's Succours in Italy. It was agreed therefore that L'Escud should in forty Days march out of Cremona with all his Men, their Colours flying, and with the Artillery; if within the said Time, which would end on the twenty-first of June, there did not arrive such Relief as should force their Way over the Po, and take one of the Cities of the State of Milan which should have a Garrison. He engaged also to procure them that all the Places held by the King in the Dutchy of Milan should be evacuated except the Castles of Milan, Cremona, and Novara, for the Observance of which Articles four Hostages were to be delivered; the Prisoners in the said Case were to be restored on each Side, and the French should have Leave granted them to pass with their Artillery and Effects without Molestation into France.*

*Dutchy of
Milan
evacuated
by the
French.*

THE

THE WARS IN ITALY. 357

A. D. 1577.

THE Agreement being concluded, and the Hostages received, the *Cæsarean* Army immediately marched towards *Genoa*, which was approached in two Places, the Marquis of *Pescara* with the *Spanish* and *Italian* Infantry encamping on the Side of the *Codifaro*, and *Prospero* with the Men at Arms and *German* Foot over against *Bisagna*. The City of *Genoa* was under the Government of *Ottaviano Fregoso*, a Prince certainly of most excellent Parts, and for his Justice and other signal Endowments as much beloved in that City as it is possible for a Prince to be beloved in a Town full of Factions, and in which the Memory of their antient Liberty was not worn out of the Minds of the People. He had in his Pay Two Thousand *Italian* Foot, on which alone he depended for his Defence; for the Inhabitants of the City being divided into Parties, though they saw before their Walls so potent an Army of Soldiers of so many different Languages, they stood idle Spectators of the Progress of the Enterprize with the same Unconcern and Indifference with which in Times past they

A. D.

1522.

used to regard Turmoils of this Nature in which, without Danger or Damage to those who did not take up Arms, the public Authority was transfered from one Family to another, without the Appearance of an Alteration, except that in the Ducal Palace resided new Inhabitants, and new Officers and Soldiers kept Guard in the Square. At the first Approach of the Army to the Town the Doge immediately began to treat of an Agreement, and sent out to the Generals *Benedetto Vivaldi* a *Genoese*. But the Negotiation was in some Measure checked by the Arrival of *Pietro Navarra*, who being sent by the King of *France* with two light Gallies for the Security of *Genoa* entered the Port at the same time. But *Donato* having begun to batter the Wall with the Artillery the Treaty for an Agreement was resumed with greater Earnestness, and now all Matters seemed to be settled, and no Difficulty remained, when the *Spaniards*, who had that Day battered a Tower near the Gate, the Garrison being negligent of their Guard, in Hopes, perhaps, of an Accommodation, seized on it, and partly through

THE WARS IN ITALY.

359

A. D.

1522.

through that, and partly through the Breach in the Wall, began to enter the City, so that all that Part of the Army running thither, the Marquis put his Troops in Order, and having sent Notice to *Propero* of the Success, and giving the Signal, made his Way into the Town, where all the Soldiers and Citizens being intent some on flying, and others on shutting themselves up in their Houses, he met with no Resistance. The Archbishop of *Salerno*, and the Captain of the Guards, with many of the Citizens and Soldiers got on board the Ships, and put out to Sea; the Doge, who could not move because of his Infirmary, caused the Palace to be shut, and sent to surrender himself to the Marquis, in whose Custody not many Months after he died. *Pietro Navarra* was taken, and the whole Substance of the City became a Prey to the Conquerors. Many rich Families entered into Obligations some to one Company of Soldiers, and some to another, to pay them a great Sum of Money, for which they gave Security, either by Pawns, or Bills drawn upon Merchants, to save their Houses from

Genoa
taken and
plundered

4. D.
1522.

Plunder; by this Means was preserved the famous *Bafon*, which is kept with high Veneration in the Cathedral Church. The Plunder was inestimable in Plate, Jewels, Money, and costly Furniture, that City, by its extensive Trade and Merchandising, being full of infinite Riches. So great a Calamity, however, was the less deplorable in some Respects because through the Prayers of the Brothers *Adorni*, since the City had shewn no Sign of Hostility, and that an Agreement might be said to have been concluded, the Generals took Care that no *Genoese* should be made a Prisoner, and no Woman violated. *Antoniotto Adorno* was elected Doge, and as soon as the Army was marched away, with the Artillery lent him by the *Florentines* he laid Siege to the *Castelletto*; on the third Day he took the Citadel and the Church of *San Francesco*, and the Day after the *Castelletto* was surrendered to him on certain Conditions by the Governor.

THE Change in *Genoa* entirely deprived the King of *France* of all Hopes that it would be in his Power to send

succours

Plunder;

N 4

Succours to *Lombardy* for the Army
 lately ordered thither, after proceeding
 as far as the Territory of *Albi*, was re-
 turned beyond the Mountains, and *L'Escud*
 though he had exceeded the Terms, on
 which he had agreed by some Days, on
 account of the Difficulties that arose con-
 cerning the Fortresses of *Trezza*, *Legna*
 and *Domusole*, yet as soon as they were
 removed, he returned with his Troops
 into *France*, the Allies not only keeping
 their Faith inviolate with him, but causing
 him to be honourably received and enter-
 tained in every Place through which he
 passed.

French
 return to
 their own
 Country.

BUT in the mean time, while these
 Events happened in *Lombardy*, the Trou-
 bles of that Country with the Absence of
 the Pope, occasioned some Disturbances in
Bologna, and much more in *Tuscany*. In
Bologna, *Annibale Bentivoglio* in Con-
 junction with *Annibale Ramone*, having
 privately got together about Four Thousand
 Men, approached the Town one Morning by
 Break of Day with three Pieces of Cannon
 on the Side of the Mountains, and in

Attempt
 on Bolog-
 na fruitless

BUT

deep

A. D. 1527. **Deep Silence**, without being heard by the
 Watch, many of them passed the Ditch,
 and set up the Ladders against the Walls.
 But the People within the Place having re-
 ceived some Intelligence of their Coming
 the Day before, gave a Shout when they
 saw a proper time, and beginning to fire
 the Cannon, and to fall out in great Num-
 bers, they immediately betook themselves
 to Flight, leaving their Artillery, and
 amongst the Fugitives *Ambrose Rangoni*
 received a Wound in his Back Parts. It
 was almost taken for certain that the Car-
 dinal de *Medici* was privy to this Attempt,
 out of an Apprehension that the Pope,
 either of his own Head, or at the Insti-
 gation of others, would, as soon as He ar-
 rived in *Rome*, endeavour to diminish his
 Creations, and therefore was desirous of
 such a Commotion in the Ecclesiastical State
 as must be excited by so great a Loss, that
 the Pontiff might not only be necessitated
 to employ himself on other Affairs with-
 out persecuting him, but also be constrained
 to have Recourse to his Council and As-
 sistance.

But

THE WARS IN ITALY.

363

A. D.

1541.

But much more considerable and of longer Continuance were the Commotions and Dangers of *Tuscany*; for scarce was the State of *Sienna* secured from the Duke of *Urbino*, and the Affairs of *Perugia* and *Montefeltro* were hardly settled, when, by the Intigation of the Cardinal of *Polterra*, new Orders came from the King of *France*, that *Renzo*, who was then wasting away his Time in Idleness at *Rome*, should attempt a Revolution in the State of *Florence*, by restoring to that City the Brothers and Nephews of the Cardinal of *Polterra*, who with all his Family were declared the Friends and Confederates of the King. The Expences necessary for the Expedition, the King at that Time being in great Straits for Want of Money, were to be defrayed by the Cardinal who received a Promise from the King to be reimbursed within a certain Term. While *Renzo* was preparing to put himself in Motion, the Affair coming to the Knowledge of the Cardinal *de Medici*, his Fears that the Duke of *Urbino* should also make some Movement obliged him to enter into an Agreement

A. D.

1533

Agreement that, without Prejudice to the Right which the *Florentines* and the Duke claimed to the Towns of *Montefeltro*, the Duke should be Captain General of the *Flarentine* Forces, for one Year certain, and for another Year at Pleasure, and take upon him the Command the Beginning of the next *September*. For the same Reasons the *Florentines* took into their Service *Oratio Baglione*, but on Condition that his Pay should not begin till the Month of *June*, because till that Time he was engaged to the *Venetians*. This Agreement was also made in the Name of his Brother *Mala-testa*, but was never ratified by him, because he had before received Money for joining *Renzo da Ceri* with Two Thousand Foot and an Hundred light Horse, and was neither willing openly to forfeit his Honour, nor on the other hand to provoke, by a new Offence, the Enmity of the Cardinal and of the *Florentines*. Wherefore feigning himself sick, he sent Word to *Renzo*, who was arrived at *Castel della Pieve* with Two Thousand Foot, an Hundred light Horse, and four Falconets, excusing himself for not waiting on him in person

Person on account of his Indisposition: A. D.

And he put the Cardinal in Hopes that he 1522.
would take no more Money of the Enemies, but ratify the Agreement made for his entering into their Service, as soon as the Term for which he had been paid was expired, and that in the mean time he would proceed with all possible Moderation on those Enterprises in which he could not refuse to act on account of the Money that he had received. After this *Renzo* with Five Hundred Horse and Seven Thousand Foot entered the Territory of *Siena*, attended by the same Exiles who had followed the Duke of *Urbino*, in order to attempt a Change in that Government, in which if he should succeed he did not doubt but to open himself a Way through that State into the Bowels of the *Florentine* Dominions, and obtain the same Success in *Florence*. But on the other side the *Florentines* foreseeing the Danger, and desirous that the Enemy should not approach *Siena*, had sent all their Troops into the Territory of the *Senese* under *Guido Rangone*, who on that urgent Occasion was elected Captain General of the Army.

His

A. D. His Intention was by all Means to tem-
 1542.
 perise with the Enemies, and make them
 lose their Time, since he knew that if they
 met with no prosperous Success in the Be-
 ginning they would soon come to want
 Money, and at the same time he endea-
 voured as much as possible to cut them
 short of Provisions. Wherefore regulating
 his Motions according to the Progress of
 the Enemy, he attended to the Defence
 of those Towns that lay nearest to the Do-
 minions of the *Senese* and *Florentines*,
 sometimes in one Quarter sometimes in
 another, in which shifting of the Soldiers
 from Place to Place it happened that *Vi-
 tello's* Regiment of Horse marching from
Territo to *Afinalunga* fell in with Three
 Hundred Horse of the Enemy, who charged
 and broke them, taking *Girolamo de Pep-
 poli*, *Vitello's* Lieutenant, with Five and
 Twenty Men at Arms Prisoners, and car-
 rying off two Colours.

Motions
 of *Renzo*
 da *Ceri*.

THIS first Enterprize of *Renzo de Ceri*
 was directed against the City of *Chiusi*,
 a Place more remarkable for its Antiquity,
 and the famous Exploits of its King *Pao-*

senna,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

367

A. D.

1522.

seena, than for its present State; but being baffled in his Attempt because he had no other Artillery than four Falconets, which made it very difficult for him to become Master of Towns when garrisoned by regular Troops, he advanced more forwards between *Torrifa* and *Asindunga*, in order to approach *Sienna*. But having in the Midst of hostile Towns no Convenience of Provisions, he made an Attempt by Storm on the Castle of *Torrifa*, which had a Garrison of One Hundred Men at Arms of Count *Guido Rangone*, and about Fifteen Hundred Foot. From hence being repulsed he decamped and pursued his March to *Mantelifre*, and from thence to *Bagno a Rapalano*, twelve Miles distant from *Sienna*, in which City the *Florentines* had at the Beginning of these Movements, placed Count *Pitigliano* as Governor. But Count *Guido* by his good Intelligence and Speed disconcerting all his Measures, entered the same Day into *Sienna* with Two Hundred light Horse, leaving behind him the Army, which followed him without stopping. Wherefore the Succours being so near at Hand,

and

A. D. 1522. and *Renzo* having lost much of his Reputation in this Expedition among those of his own Party as well as with his Enemies, and it being well known that he was reduced to great Straits for Want of Provisions, the Malecontents in *Siena* who wanted a Change of Government were greatly dejected. *Renzo* however approached within Half a Mile of the Walls. But all Things remaining quiet in the Place without the least Commotion, he went off after staying a Day, and after his Departure the Troops of the *Florentines* on the same Day entered *Siena*; and tho' they put themselves in Pursuit of him, yet despairing to overtake him, because he was so far advanced, they left him to be pursued only by some light Horse, and a certain Number of Foot which were in *Siena* before, and which did him but little Damage. But *Renzo* marched with such Speed, his Pace being quickened perhaps by Hunger as much as by Fear, that he left his Artillery on the Road, which, to his great Disgrace, came into the Power of the Enemy. He stopped at *Acquapendente*, in order to recruit his

THE WARS IN ITALY.

369

his Forces, which were greatly diminish-
ed, being perfectly secure because he
knew that the *Florentine* Troops would
forbear out of Respect to enter the Domi-
nions of the Church. But as he wanted
Money, and the Cardinals of *Volterra*,
of *Monte*, and of *Como*, with whom, by
Order of the King of *France* he concerted
his Measures, began to neglect him, he
betook himself with those few Troops
he had left to ravage the maritime Parts
belonging to *Siena*, where he gave an
Assault to *Orbitello*, but was repulsed.
Wherefore the *Florentines*, who had ad-
vanced with their Army as far as the
Bridge of *Centina*, on the Borders of the
State of *Siena* and of that of the Church,
finding that *Renzo* did not disband all his
Forces, threatened to attack the Towns
of the Ecclesiastic Dominions. On this
the College of Cardinals, who were un-
easy at seeing the Flames of this Com-
bustion likely to get Hold of the Eccle-
siastical State, interposed for making an
Agreement, which was equally accepta-
ble to both Parties: To the *Florentines*
because it eased them of those Expences

A. D.

1522.

VOL. VII.

A a

from

A. D.
1522.Peace
concluded

from which they reaped no manner of Advantage; to *Renzo da Ceri* because he found himself but slenderly provided, and without Hopes of assembling greater Forces, especially as the *French* Interest was on the Decline in *Lombardy*. The Convention contained no other Articles than only a Promise between the *Sanese* and *Florentines* on one Side, and *Renzo* on the other, to commit no Hostilities against each other, for the Performance of which Security was given in *Rome* of Fifty Thousand Ducats, and as to the Plunder that had been taken both Parties referred themselves to the Declaration of the Pope after his Arrival in *Italy*.

THE same Winter happened a dangerous Accident in *Lucca*; for *Vicenzo di Poggio*, of a noble Family, and *Lorenzo Totti*, under Colour of private Differences, but incited perhaps much more by Ambition and Poverty, took up Arms, and assassinated the Gonfalonier of that City in the public Palace, and afterwards ranging over the Town murdered some other Citizens who were their Adversaries,

IV creating

THE WARS IN ITALY.

371

creating so universal a Terror that none had the Courage to oppose them. However when the first Fury was abated, those who had terrified others began to be under Apprehensions for their own Safety, considering the Heinousness of the Facts they had committed, and many of the Citizens interposing their Mediation they agreed to leave the City on certain Conditions, and after their Departure met with most bitter Persecutions wherever they went.

THE Affairs of *Lombardy* and *Tuscany* were now restored to a State of Tranquillity as above related, but the Care of the Dominions of the Church being totally neglected by the College through the Absence of the Pope, and the Discord and Ambition of the Cardinals, *Sigismondo* Son of *Pandolfo Malatesta* the ancient Lord of *Rimini*, by means of some slight Correspondence which he held in the Place, seized on that City almost without any Assistance: And tho' the Cardinal de' *Medici*, at the Instances of the College, had taken a Journey to *Bologna* as Legate of that City, in order to

Rimini
seized by
Malatesta

A. D.

1522.

recover *Rimini*, and settle the other Affairs of *Romagna* which were in great Confusion, having obtained a Promise from the College that the Marquis of *Mantoua*, General of the Church, should march to his Assistance, yet nothing took Effect for Want of Money, and because the Cardinals his Adversaries prevented every Resolution which might tend to increase his Reputation.

End of the fourteenth Book and seventh



ERRATA in the Sixth Volume.

Page 84 *et alibi* Ruine *r.* Ruin. 121
without *d.* i. 131 *d.* and. 138 de-
camped *r.* decamped. 189 *us r.* as.
264 Nephew *r.* Grandson. Bishop of
Petrucci d. of. 379 *d.* it. 389 *oo r.*
co, &c.

Volume the Seventh.

Page 101 very disposed *r.* much. 195
of *Como r.* at. 206 *ro r.* to. 308 *Pe-*
sara r. *Pesaro*, 313 *nor r.* or. 350 the
their *d.* the. 360 *te r.* the, &c.

